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PRIMITIVE
TRUTH AND ORDER

VINDICATED FROM

MODERN MISREPRESENTATION:

WITH

A DEFENCE OF EPISCOPACY,

PARTICULARLY THAT OF

SCOTLAND,

AGAINST AN ATTACK MADE ON IT

BY THE LATE DR. CAMPBELL, OF ABERDEEN,

IN HIS

LECTURES ON ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

BY THE RIGHT REV. JOHN SKINNER,

IN ABERDEEN, SENIOR BISHOP OF THE SCOTCH EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

THE FIRST AMERICAN EDITION.

To which is annexed,

A REVIEW OF DR. HAWEIS' CHURCH HISTORY.

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TO THIS EDITION.

THE original edition of this work contained a short "Address to the Episcopalians of Scotland." As this address derives its principal interest from the *local* circumstances of the Church in that country, the publishers have omitted it; and they have subjoined a very able *Review of Dr. Haweis' Church History*, extracted from the Anti-Jacobin Magazine, which, they think, will enhance the value of the volume.

THE FOLLOWING WORK, IN VINDICATION

OF

PRIMITIVE TRUTH AND ORDER,

IS MOST RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED

TO THE HONOURABLE

SIR WILLIAM FORBES, BARONET,

OF PITSLIGO;

BOTH AS A GRATEFUL ACKNOWLEDGMENT

OF HIS EXERTIONS IN THE SAME CAUSE,

AND

AS A HUMBLE TESTIMONY

OF THAT SINCERE REGARD FOR HIS PUBLIC VIRTUES,

AND NO LESS AMIABLE CHARACTER

IN PRIVATE LIFE,

WHICH HAS BEEN LONG AND DEEPLY IMPRESSED

ON THE MIND OF

HIS MUCH OBLIGED, OBEDIENT,

AND VERY FAITHFUL SERVANT,

THE AUTHOR.

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INTRODUCTION.

IF there be any one truth, in embracing which it might be supposed that the intelligent part of mankind would universally agree, it is surely the importance of religion, and the necessity of attending to what it recommends, for promoting the interests of society on earth, as well as preparing men for the happiness of heaven. Viewing the matter in this light, it is impossible but that every serious thinking person, who wishes well to his country, must sincerely lament the unhappy divisions, which have so long agitated the public mind, on a subject so interesting as the nature and tendency of true religion. However justifiable separation may be in some cases; and however necessary at all times, for the friends of truth and righteousness to withdraw themselves from the tents of error and ungodliness; still it cannot be denied that the numerous sects and parties into which the Christian world has been divided, and their almost endless diversity of religious opinions, must be considered as one of the heaviest calamities with which mankind have ever been visited. Nor need we be at much pains to point out this wild variety of sentiment respecting the doctrines of the gospel, as the most common source of infidelity, and most powerful support of irreligion; since we find it daily appealed to as such, and therefore industriously encouraged by those "perverse disputers," who, rather than embrace the "pure undefiled religion" of Christ, allow themselves to be completely "spoiled through philosophy and vain deceit."

Nothing seems to be better known, nor more carefully improved, by the adversaries of our common faith, than

the advantage they derive from those unhappy dissentions, by which the family of Christians, which an Apostle calls the " Household of faith," is divided against itself. In lamenting the effects of such shameful division, the church of Christ may justly say, in the words of the Psalmist,—" It is not an open enemy that hath done me this dishonour; but even those who were once my companions, who took sweet counsel together with me, and walked in the house of God as friends." Such " offences," however, we are assured, " must needs come;" even although a " woe be denounced against those by whom they come." We are also forewarned, that there must, and will be heresies, factions and parties distinguished by their false and destructive principles; " that they who are approved" by their steady adherence to truth, unity and order, " may be made manifest."—Such then being the divided state of what is called the Christian World, those who have promoted the present work do not hope to produce any thing like general unanimity in a country such as this, where so many jarring opinions are entertained on the subject of religion.—The object which they have in view is of less extent, and therefore more likely to be accomplished. The design of this publication is to offer some arguments in defence of Episcopacy in general, and particularly that of Scotland; and to persuade such of the inhabitants of this country as profess to be of the Episcopal Communion, to walk worthy of that profession, by acting in a manner consistent with it, and endeavouring to support the constitution, and preserve the unity of that small remnant of the old established church, which still happily exists in this part of the united kingdom.

There is no article of the Christian faith, as laid down in our public creeds, that seems to be so strangely misunderstood, and so little attended to, as that in which we are taught to profess our belief of the " holy catholic church." And the mistakes and inattention so prevalent with regard to this important article are the more to be regretted, as the

baneful consequences arising from this unhappy cause do daily exhibit an increasing tendency to disorder, confusion, and every evil work. It is no doubt by preserving the bonds of ecclesiastical unity, that Christians are to be kept in the way of obedience to the one God, and dependence on the one Mediator. It has, therefore, been justly observed by an eminent writer, that, "if ever this subject of the church of Christ, now so much neglected, and almost forgotten by those who are most concerned to understand it, should come to be better considered, there would be more true piety, and more peace, more of those virtues which will be required in heaven, and which must therefore be first learned upon earth. Some amongst us err, because they know not the Scriptures; and others, because they never considered the nature of the church. Some think they can make their own religion, and so they despise the word of God, and fall into infidelity. Others think they can make their own church, or even be a church unto themselves; and so they fall into the delusions of enthusiasm, or the uncharitableness of schism."

These are the pertinent remarks of a learned divine of of the church of England, and they are enforced by an observation so justly expressed, and so well adapted to my present purpose, that I must take the liberty of presenting it to the notice of those for whom this publication is more particularly intended. "But, as there is nothing to enlighten the minds of men in the doctrines of salvation, but the *word of God;* so there is nothing that can unite their hearts and affections, but the *church of God.* Ye are one bread, and one body, saith the Apostle; *one* body by partaking of one bread; and that can only be in the *same communion.*"* Impressed therefore with the truth and importance of what is here so justly asserted, and earnestly de-

* See the preface to an *Essay on the Church,* by the late Rev. William Jones, of Nayland, in Suffolk.

sirous of its producing the same effect in the minds of those for whose benefit I am now writing, I shall beg leave to request their serious and impartial consideration of the subject before us; while, taking a view of the general state of religion in this country, and the danger to which it is exposed, from professed infidels on the one hand, and from the fanatical abettors of enthusiasm on the other, we look back through all this mist of modern confusion, to the primitive order and uniformity of the church, and see what necessity there is for our continuing still in the "Apostles' *doctrine* and *fellowship*," as the only source of order and guard of uniformity.—We shall then close our view with such a brief, but, I trust, satisfactory account of the ecclesiastical orders and administrations of the Episcopal Church in Scotland, as, notwithstanding the violent attack which was lately made upon it by a learned Professor of the establishment, may tend, by the blessing of God, to confirm the regard and attachment of its present members; to promote a becoming union among all those who profess to be of the Episcopal persuasion in this part of the kingdom; and to furnish them with proper arguments for the vindication of those sound and salutary principles, by which they have the happiness to be distinguished.

It is an observation of undeniable certainty, that the same Divine Being, the Almighty Lord of heaven and earth, who has given to man the good things of creation for the use and benefit of his body, and the precious truths of revelation for the instruction and comfort of his soul, has in both instances met with the most ungrateful and unworthy returns. The good things of creation have been abused to the basest purposes of riot and intemperance, consumed in sin and sensuality, and often made a pretence for indulging covetousness and ambition, a sordid parsimony and griping avarice; while the precious truths of revelation have been treated with the most insolent scorn and contempt, exposed to all the wantonness of raillery and

ridicule, and often so strangely perverted, as to produce nothing but blind superstition and enthusiastic presumption.

It is not enough, however, that we acknowledge in general the truth of this melancholy observation: let us examine whether such a charge be strictly just, when applied to the inhabitants of this land, the country with which we are most immediately connected. Perhaps, when comparing our moral character with that of other states and kingdoms, we may feel an inclination at once to resist the charge, because our country cannot in justice be accused of such flagrant abuses of the divine goodness as are too often exhibited in other parts of the world. But before we allow ourselves to be carried away by any such superficial and flattering comparison, we shall do well to consider, whether this moral superiority, which at present we undoubtedly possess, may not be more justly ascribed to a want of means and opportunity of carrying the pursuit of sensual and worldly pleasure to the same height with our richer neighbours, than to any want of inclination, from principle, to the abuses which I have been mentioning. It seems therefore a doubtful point, whether our virtue in this respect is to be traced to the proper source and principle of all that deserves to be called virtue, or whether our being "delivered from much of the evil" that prevails in other places, may not be ascribed to the favourable circumstance of our not being so much "led into temptation." But whatever may be said, either for or against our national character, on this score, it can only be applied to the first branch of the charge to which I have alluded, as pointing to that presumptuous abuse of the good things of creation, the criminality of which will no doubt be in proportion to the share that is enjoyed of these temporal blessings; and those, to whom little is given, will surely have the less to account for. But as to the other part of the charge, in which our country is implicated, as professing to be Christian, and enjoying the full benefit of divine revelation, I am

afraid, that in the contempt, or abuse of its precious truths, as much guilt and depravity will be found here, in proportion to our numbers, as in the other parts of the united kingdom.

From the advantages which Scotland has long enjoyed in the way of literature, and the easy access thus afforded to the general acquisition of knowledge, has arisen the powerful temptation, which many have been unable to withstand, of carrying their speculations beyond the proper limits, and affecting to be wise even in matters of religion, above what God has caused to be written for man's instruction. While such speculations, however, were confined to the student in his closet, their influence was narrow and circumscribed; and the general state of society was but little affected by the writings of such infidels as *David Hume*, till they were better suited to vulgar capacity, and their deadly venom more widely circulated, by the poisonous arts of *Thomas Paine*, and his numerous disciples. These could not fail at last to attract the notice of government; and by its firm and steady exertions, a stop has been put to the open and avowed propagation of principles so hostile to the morals, the peace, and good order of society. Yet it is much to be feared, that in many parts of the kingdom, the seeds of irreligion and licentiousness have been so plentifully disseminated, that unless their growth be checked by a returning sense of duty, or some powerful interposition of Providence, before they come to full maturity, inevitable ruin must be the consequence. Already do the presages of such a fatal issue begin to exhibit themselves. In some of the most populous districts of Scotland, where the middling and lower ranks of the people were, some years ago, exemplary in the discharge of their religious duties, not occasional neglect only, but a constant derision, and an avowed contempt of these duties, have now taken place. The rites and ordinances of the gospel are exposed to every species of scorn and ridicule. Children are wilfully

withheld from the "laver of regeneration;" and men and women "count the blood of the covenant, wherewith they are sanctified, an unholy thing, in pure despite of the spirit of grace."

The attainment of superior wisdom has been the boast of the free-thinking tribe in every age, and in every nation; and much mischief has been done to the cause of Christianity by the sophisms of schoolmen, and the introduction of that false philosophy and vain deceit, the offspring of metaphysical subtilty, through which so many in the higher ranks of life have been completely "spoiled and led away after the rudiments of the world, and not after Christ." Yet comparatively small was the injury, so long as the poor had the gospel preached unto them; so long as the mass of society was uncontaminated, and the great body of the people esteemed themselves happy in enjoying the comforts of religion, and "counted all things but loss, for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus their Lord." The partition-wall, however, between learned and unlearned, is now in this respect broken down. The adepts of the new philosophy have availed themselves of the facility, with which the lower classes of the people may be tempted to get rid of this distinction; and, if we may borrow the figurative language of the Psalmist, "the boar out of the wood doth now waste it, and the wild beast of the field doth devour" and tear in pieces, the gospel of that "God of hosts," who proclaimed himself "the true vine;" even the "Shepherd of Israel," of whom the same Psalmist declares, that "he is our God, and we are the people of his pasture, and the sheep of his hand."—What a pity it is that the grievous wolves of atheism and apostacy should be allowed to enter in among us, clothed as they are in the lambskin dress of fraternal benevolence, and universal philanthropy; under which guise, "speaking perverse things to draw away disciples after them," they spare not the flock of Christ, but are daily carrying off unstable souls to

the destruction that awaits them! To whom, but to that same mighty Shepherd of Israel, who neither slumbereth nor sleepeth, can we look for such aid and protection as are necessary to defend us from these enemies of our peace?

But, while we fly to him for shelter, earnestly praying that he would take us under "the shadow of his wings, until these calamities be overpast," we must be equally careful to beware of the modern "false prophets," and not listen to the pretensions of such as are ever seeking to exalt themselves, by going about and saying, "Lo, here is Christ, or lo there;" for Christ himself hath left this warning with us—"Not *every one* that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven; but he that doth the *will* of my Father which is in heaven."* Now this heavenly Father being the God of order, not of confusion, his will must in every thing accord with his work; and we are to discover what his will is, from what he has *done* for the purpose of revealing it to us. His *doings*, no doubt, may be often "marvellous in our eyes;" but no man, who is not actuated by the most palpable presumption and self-confidence, will dare to infringe, or pretend to alter, the order of God's works, whether they refer to his operations in the economy of nature, or of grace. Bold and assuming as the naturalist too often is, he never has attempted to invert the seasons; to make the sun rule by night, and the moon by day; to oppose the stars in their courses; to bring the winds out of their treasures, or to allay the fury of the tempest by his unavailing "peace, be still." How then should any one pretend to alter the system of things spiritual;—to change the economy of grace;—to disjoint the whole frame of religion, by opposing the revealed will of God, and setting aside the laws and institutions of his divine appointment? Yet all this may be justly laid to the charge of those wild enthusiasts,

* St. Matthew vii. 21.

who, full of the assurance of faith, and the inward experience of a self-confident mind, enroll themselves among the elect of God; and, certain, as they suppose, of being saved themselves, look down with contemptuous disdain on those humble Christians who are yet content to "work out their own salvation," in the way that God has prescribed, "with fear and trembling."—A doctrine, which thus tears away from the human heart every solid motive to a holy and religious life; which tells us, in language as plain as these people can possibly make use of, that if we are in the number of the elect, there is no fear, and if we are not, there is no hope: Such a doctrine, the abettors of it, no doubt, justly suppose, would require to be supported, not by human authority, but by an immediate testimony from heaven; and therefore the modern preachers of this new gospel, despising the commission which our Lord gave his Apostles, to be handed down by regular succession, have all at once assumed to themselves a title, by which they would make the world believe that *they* have now the *only mission* from heaven that exists upon this earth, the peculiar privilege of preaching what they are pleased to call the *Gospel*, in opposition to all that the church of God has hitherto received under that venerable name.

How long this delusion, which is now spreading so wide through every part of the kingdom, may prevail, it is not easy to say; as the power of delusion is strong, both when it would appear to be on the side of religion, and when it operates in a contrary direction. Attempts have been made, by something like ecclesiastical authority, to stop the progress of this growing evil, and to administer a remedy to those who are infected by this *missionary* phrensy; a sort of possession more worthy of one who has his "dwelling among the tombs," than of those who reside in the habitations of men! But they who prescribe the remedy, ought to understand well the nature of the disease, and be able to trace the malady to its proper source. People who

admonish others to beware of falling into any dangerous error in matters of religion, ought themselves to be exempt from the mischief, against which their admonition is directed. Such warnings come with an ill grace, and therefore with no great probability of doing much good, from those, who, perhaps it will be said, derive their own ministry from the same contempt of a regular apostolic mission, of which they now see such alarming consequences, as have at last produced a wish to prevent their farther increase.

In the midst of all this confusion, this melancholy departure from PRIMITIVE TRUTH AND ORDER, we of the Episcopal Communion have the credit and comfort of reflecting, that nothing has been said or done on our part to promote or encourage such wild deviation from the paths of true religion, the ways of unity, peace and love, which our blessed Redeemer marked out for all his faithful followers.—It is true, we are separated, and must continue to be separate from the establishment of this country; not as influenced by a spirit of opposition to whatever is established either in church or state (which seems to be a prominent feature in the doctrine of these new Apostles), but because we act on principles which require and justify such separation; and which, if well understood, and duly adhered to, would ensure stability to every sound establishment, and prevent those unhappy divisions, which serve only to multiply error, and drive men farther and farther from the truth as it is in Christ.

Such as I have now described it, is evidently the situation of the land in which we live, with respect to the religious character of a great majority of its inhabitants, very much resembling the state of things in the Jewish church, at the time of our Saviour's first coming into the flesh, when the true religion was either totally set aside by the infidelity of the Sadducees, or sadly corrupted by the vile hypocrisy of self-conceited Pharisees. The former, led away, like our modern *Illuminati*, with a vain affecta-

tion of superior discernment, could not bear the thoughts of submitting their enlightened understandings to the familiar tenets of a vulgar faith. They must have a creed of a different form, perfectly suited to what they are pleased to call *Reason*, and the *Fitness of things*. This has been the idol of the unbelieving race, in all ages and places of the world. And though the vanity of their scheme has been often exposed in the clearest manner, and to the full satisfaction of every serious, sober-thinking person; yet it would seem to require the same divine eloquence now as it did formerly, to "put the Sadducees to silence."

But though it were possible (and with God it cannot be impossible) to check the licentious railings of these "bold disputers, who even deny the Lord that bought them;" denying, either that they are bought, or that he who bought them is the Lord—the eternal, Almighty Jehovah; the true faith has yet another sort of enemies to combat with, in the imitators of those pharisaical pretenders to religion, of whom St. Paul gives a most just and striking description in these words—"For I bear them record, that they have a zeal of God, but not according to knowledge. For they, being ignorant of God's righteousness, and going about to establish their own righteousness, have not submitted themselves unto the righteousness of God."*—Submission to the righteous will and appointment of God was no part of the religion adopted by that zealous ignorance, the effects of which are here so minutely described; and similar effects are still flowing from the same unhappy cause. The pride of infidelity, we may well suppose, is not a little cherished and supported by the gross absurdities which prevail among many of those who profess to believe the great truths of the gospel; and who, in flying from the ruinous paths of the impious sceptic, are often sadly bewildered in ways of their own devising, and plunge

* Rom. x. 2, 3.

themselves into all the follies of the wild enthusiast. There seems to be a strange propensity in many of our countrymen to be misguided by such as thus go about to deceive; and who, to carry on their deceit the more effectually, lay it down as an undoubted maxim, very flattering to the vanity of the human heart, that any man who can read, may, with the scriptures in his hands, be able to know and do every thing necessary to salvation. But this, though partly true, is not the whole truth; and well-meaning people ought to be put on their guard against such an artful misrepresentation. Had the scriptures contained only a few moral precepts, tending to preserve the peace of society, and to regulate man's conduct towards his neighbour, without prescribing any sacred rites and institutions, as a testimony of his submission to the will of his God, the maxim I have mentioned might have been assumed with more propriety. But is this really the case? Has a man, in order to be made a Christian, nothing more to do than to go to a bookseller's shop and purchase a bible, that he may peruse it at his leisure and interpret it as he thinks fit? With all the liberality which this age possesses, no one has yet ventured to assert so much in plain terms, although the loose opinions, which so generally prevail, clearly show, that too many are guided by no other principle.

In tracing these and many other growing evils to their proper source, we may easily find their original in that lamentable ignorance of the true nature and constitution of the Christian Church; and of consequence, that total want of regard for the order and succession of its ministers which have, of late years, so wofully prevailed among us; encouraged and countenanced by a numerous set both of preachers and authors, whose interest it is to flatter men in this fashionable error, and take advantage of it. Hence it is, that the Christian world has been bewildered and led astray by so many unfaithful histories of the church, and such ill-digested lectures on that subject, as could only

come from persons who found it necessary to touch these things very tenderly, because the ground on which they stood in their official character, was not so firm as to bear them up in any other language than that of the false prophets of old, "who spoke smooth things, and prophesied deceits, because the people loved to have it so." A writer of another stamp, the late pious and learned Bishop of Norwich, in laying before his clergy a brief account of the great fundamental doctrines which they were to inculcate, as essential to Christianity, and without which, it cannot be considered as a religion true in itself or beneficial to us, takes care to include in the number of these important doctrines, the *Constitution and Use of the Church;* "a subject on which," he says, men's principles for some years past "have been very unsettled, and their knowledge precarious and superficial."*—We need not wonder that this should be the case, when men are at so little pains to acquire that sound substantial knowledge, which is absolutely necessary to settle their principles, and give them just and suitable ideas on a subject of such serious and striking importance, as was ascribed by the blessed Author of our religion, to the way and manner, the purpose and design of his building or raising that society, which he was pleased to call *his church*, and which he no sooner entered on his public ministry, than he began to establish.†

Now that this church of Christ, thus established by himself in person, and afterwards enlarged by his Apostles, on the plan which he had laid down for their direction, ought to be considered as a regular, well formed society, is evident from the names and allusions by which it is described in the sacred writings. It is there represented as a *body*, a *household* or *family*, a *city*, a *kingdom;* and must certainly bear some kind of relation to what these terms are generally known to imply. Indeed, no one who

* See Bishop Horne's Charge, p. 21. † See St. Matthew xvi. 18, 19.

reflects for a moment on the nature of these figurative expressions, can be ignorant wherein it is that this relation or connection takes place. The church is a *body* having many members, of which Christ is the head. The church is a "*household*" or *family*, of which Christ is the master,—"of whom the whole family is named;" and into which being admitted by baptism, we receive the spirit of adoption, whereby we are allowed and enabled to call the great Lord of heaven and earth our Father. The church is also called the "*city* of the living God;" and Christians are said to be "fellow-citizens with the saints:" and it is often mentioned as a *kingdom*, of which Christ—the King of saints—is the Almighty Sovereign, "to whom all power is given, in heaven and in earth." In all these respects, the church must be considered as an outward and visible society, possessing all the powers and privileges, and imposing on its members all the relative duties implied in the allusions which I have now quoted. As a *body*, all the members must be joined to the head, and to one another, that they may receive life and motion for the discharge of their several functions. As a *family*, its Almighty Father must in every thing be the guide and director of his children, appointing for them the proper teachers and masters, and training them up in the way of life, from which they must never depart. As a *household*, the church must not be divided against itself: that it may stand, it must be upheld in unity and order, and by submission to such wholesome discipline, as in the charitable institutions of this world is found necessary to be imposed on all who are admitted to share in the liberality of the founders. As a *city* and *kingdom*, the church must be watched over, and governed by its proper officers, deriving their spiritual power and authority from that heavenly Sovereign, who is King of kings and Lord of lords.

Such then being the light in which we are taught to view the nature and design of that holy and heavenly society,

which in scripture is called the church; let us now cast a veil over the confusions of these latter days, and set ourselves to inquire after the order and uniformity of the primitive ages of Christianity; when the doctrine and fellowship of the Apostles were strictly and steadfastly adhered to, and Christians continued most faithfully and conscientiously "in the things which they had learned, and been assured of, knowing of whom they had learned them." And as in the course of this inquiry, it may be necessary, for the truth's sake, to speak of things as they really are, and not "call evil good, and good evil, or put darkness for light, and light for darkness;" it is hoped that such candid and honest dealing will not be misinterpreted as the indication of an uncharitable, or illiberal mind; but justly considered as proceeding from an earnest desire to promote the salvation of men, and to join fervently in the pious wish and petition of the church, as expressed in one of her daily prayers, "that all who profess and *call themselves* Christians may be led into the way of truth, and hold the faith in unity of spirit, in the bond of peace, and in righteousness of life."

How then can any want of true charity, or what deserves to be called liberality, be with justice imputed to him, who, in his professional character, is doing all he can for the benefit of his fellow Christians, and is not willing that any of them should be lost, if he can help it? Will nothing serve to constitute a liberal-minded Christian, but that lukewarm indifference, which is totally unconcerned about every thing connected with religion; which looks on all professions as alike safe, provided men be sincere, and sees no reason why every one may not hope to "get to heaven" in his own way? Do we judge thus in matters of less consequence, and where the interests of the present life only are concerned? Is he applauded as a liberal-minded physician, who, seeing his patient indulge himself in every thing that tends to nourish disease and impair the

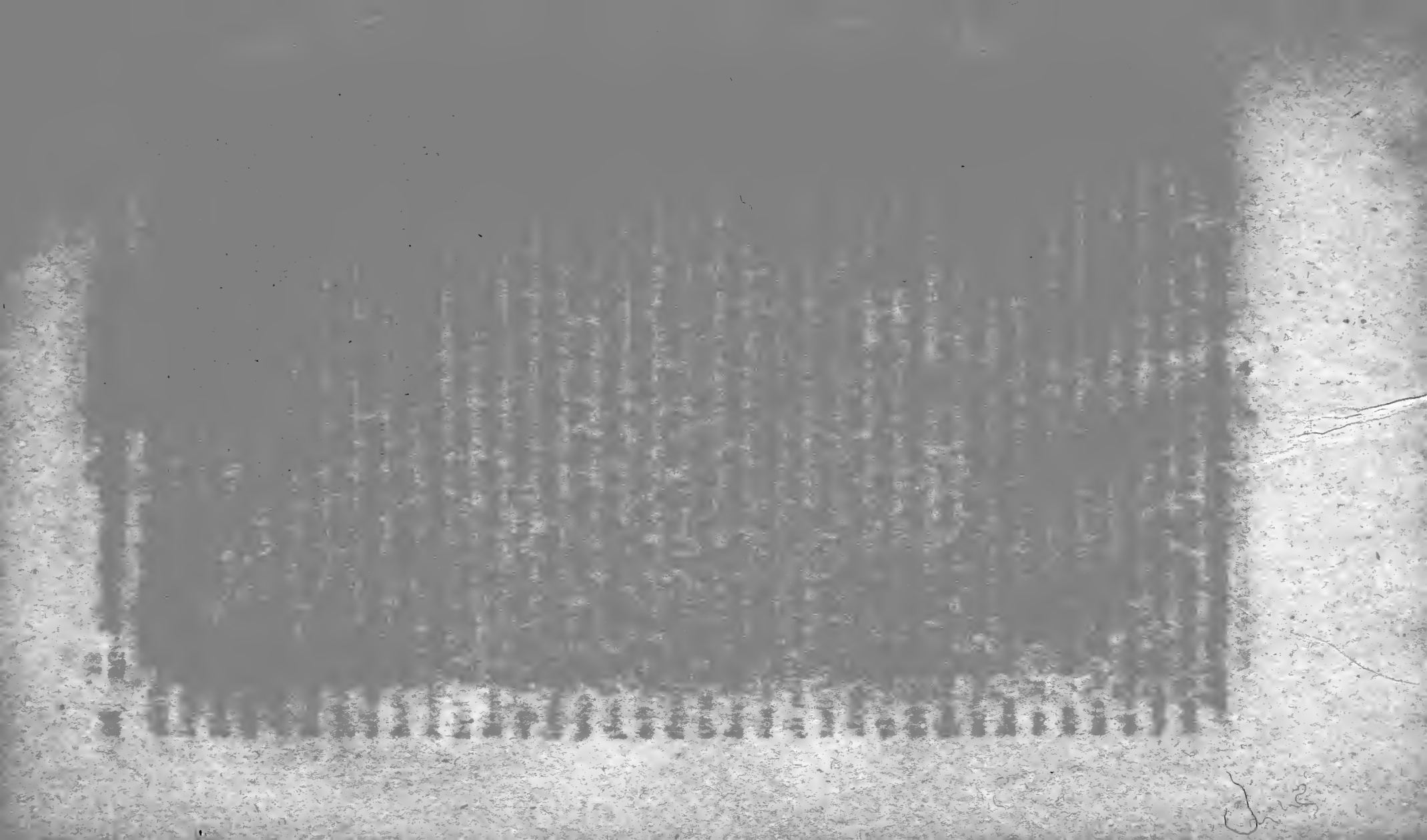
constitution, flatters him that all shall yet be well; and that he does right to go on in his own way? Is he applauded as a liberal-minded lawyer, who tells his client, that he need give himself no trouble about the laws and government of this country; since, in order to preserve the rights and liberties of a British subject, he may be as well directed in every thing by the municipal code of France, or Russia, or any other country? Is the commander of armies applauded as a liberal-minded soldier, who, in the day of battle, leaves his troops without orders or instructions of any kind, and lets them fight the enemy in the way that seems best to their own judgment? Why then should the teacher of religion be applauded as a liberal-minded divine, whose only merit lies in "speaking peace, where there is no peace," and leaving the people to *grope* for the *wall* of salvation, the *pillar* and *ground* of truth; when by pointing it out, through the mist of modern error and delusion, as "a city set on a hill," which is at unity in itself, he might direct their eyes to that which is the only sure refuge from sin and misery, the only place of safety to a guilty world, and, therefore, ought to be "the joy of the whole earth." Conscious, therefore, of possessing no other spirit than the spirit of Christian charity, and actuated by no other motive than the desire of promoting the glory of God, and the good of my Christian brethren, I shall proceed to establish the following plain and important facts, as matters of undoubted certainty, and worthy of the most serious consideration.

I. That the Christian religion, being, like its divine Author, "the same yesterday, to-day and for ever," ought to be received and embraced, just as it is represented and held out in the scriptures of truth, without "adding thereto, or diminishing from it."

II. That the church of Christ, in which his religion is received and embraced, is that spiritual society in which the ministration of holy things is committed to the three

distinct orders of Bishops, Priests and Deacons, deriving their authority from the Apostles, as those Apostles received their commission from Christ. And,

III. That a part of this holy, catholic and apostolic church, though deprived of the support of civil establishment, does still exist in this country, under the name of the *Scotch Episcopal Church;* whose doctrine, discipline and worship, as happily agreeing with that of the first and purest ages of Christianity, ought to be steadily adhered to, by all who profess to be of the Episcopal Communion, in this part of the kingdom.



CHAPTER I.

The Christian Religion, being, like its Divine Author, "the same yesterday, to-day and for ever," ought to be received and embraced just as it is represented and held out in the Scriptures of Truth, "without adding thereto or diminishing from it."

THE truth of this proposition is so evident, as to admit of no sort of doubt in the minds of those who are rightly instructed in the knowledge of divine things: and there cannot be a more agreeable subject of Christian meditation, than to survey the various means and instruments by which God has been pleased to convey this comfortable instruction to man. For this purpose we are assured, that the same "God, who at sundry times, and in divers manners, spake in time past unto the fathers by the prophets, hath in these last days spoken unto us by his Son."* The only difference, which is here pointed out to our notice, refers to the *times* and to the *manners* in which God hath spoken; for under all this variety with respect to the mode of revelation, the subject was the same, and the speaker the same, the voice of the one true God proclaiming the "one Mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus, who gave himself a ransom for all."† It was in consequence of his giving this all-sufficient ransom, that he became that powerful Mediator, who alone could make peace between heaven and earth; and who, according to the terms of the everlasting covenant of grace and mercy, did of his own free love, and unmerited goodness to man, graciously undertake to make reconciliation for iniquity, and to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself; which sacri-

* Heb. i. 1, 2. † 1 Tim. ii. 5, 6.

fice, an Apostle tells us, "was verily fore-ordained before the foundation of the world."* Hence it is that the plan of this glorious design is so often mentioned in scripture as God's purpose, which he had purposed from the beginning—his "eternal purpose, which he purposed in Christ Jesus our Lord;"† his "purpose and grace, which was given us in Christ Jesus, before the world began;"‡ which had been fore-ordained, or predestined in the counsel and decree of the blessed and glorious Trinity, who had been pleased to bind themselves by an everlasting covenant to the accomplishment of it. This, we have ground to believe, is the true scriptural notion of predestination; not any absolute, unconditional decree for the salvation of particular persons; but only God's general purpose and resolution of sending his Son into the world, "that *whosoever* believeth in him, should not perish, but have everlasting life."§ With a view to this merciful purpose, the scripture describes, in terms sufficiently adequate to the human capacity, the several parts, which the three persons in the Godhead, and man too by their appointment, have to act in this blessed scheme, according to the brief account given of it, by a venerable writer of the primitive church, in these words—"the *Father* well pleased, the *Son* administering and forming, the *Spirit* nourishing and increasing, *man* himself gradually profiting and attaining towards perfection."‖ Such is the beautiful representation, which may be drawn from scripture, of the mysterious scheme of salvation provided for fallen man; and of the several parts, which the adorable Three in Jehovah have been graciously pleased to assign to themselves in carrying on this mighty work of love and mercy to the human race.

"Known unto God are all his works from the beginning of the world," particularly that which is the crown and

* 1 Peter i. 20. † Ephes. iii. 11. ‡ 2 Tim. i. 9.
§ St. John iii. 16. ‖ Irenæus, book iv. chap. lxxv.

glory of all the rest, the redemption of mankind by the sacrifice and death of his beloved Son. But had not this act of mercy been also revealed and "made known" to men, as soon as their situation required such a comfortable discovery, they could have had no hope of being reconciled to God; no encouragement to serve the Lord with gladness, or to declare with grateful joy, "that his mercy is everlasting, and his truth endureth to all generations." It was justly observed by a writer of distinguished rank in this country, "that if it was the intention of God to pardon man; to reclaim him from his sinful state; to encourage him to love, fear, and serve his Creator, and to restore him to a capacity of performing such acceptable service, it was absolutely necessary, for promoting that design, to acquaint man with his intentions; to give such proof of those intentions as should convince and thoroughly persuade those to whom the revelation was made, and to preserve such evidence of that revelation to mankind, as should be sufficient to support their faith and hope, and give them ground to rejoice in the God of their salvation."* Now all this has been done in the most complete and satisfactory manner, by that same wise and gracious God, in the unity of whose essence we are taught to believe, that "there are three who bear record in heaven" to the eternal purpose of man's salvation; and who have not left themselves without witness on earth to that covenanted scheme of grace, mercy and peace, which was in much compassion exhibited to fallen man, as soon as his deplorable condition called for the comfort which was thence to be derived. The words, in which the inspired historian relates the promise of mercy, are, "that the seed of the woman should bruise the head of the serpent;" that there should, in the fulness of time, be born of the posterity of Eve a Re-

* See *Some Thoughts concerning Religion, &c.* by the late Honourable Duncan Forbes, Lord President of the Court of Sessions.

deemer or Deliverer; who, by making satisfaction for the sins of men, and restoring them to the love and favour of their offended Maker, should thereby bruise the head, and destroy the power and dominion of that old serpent the devil, who had beguiled our first parents into sin, and gained, as he thought, a signal triumph over them.

Thus early was the gospel preached, and the glad tidings of salvation published to the human race.—The account given of it by Moses is short and concise; but the revelation itself, as coming from God, was no doubt full and explicit. One thing is obvious, that the change which took place in Adam's condition, as the consequence of his fall, would necessarily lead to a correspondent change in his religious service: and we may reasonably conclude, that such a form of worship would be instituted, as might exhibit his dependence on the covenant of grace entered into by the THREE GREAT ONES in deity, one of whom was to unite the human nature with his own, and as God manifested in the flesh, to do and suffer whatever was necessary for man's salvation.* Accordingly we find, that when Adam's transgression required his expulsion from the earthly paradise, and his entrance on a state of salutary discipline, and a new system of faith and trust in his God, a certain emblematic representation was placed at the east of the garden of Eden, exhibiting the ever-blessed Trinity as joined in covenant to redeem man, and the union of the divine and human natures in the person of the Redeemer. The *Cherubim*, and the glory around them, with the divine presence in them, were to keep or preserve the way of the tree of life, to show man the way to life eternal, and keep him from losing, or departing from it.† Before this emble-

* See some very pertinent remarks on this subject, in a volume of excellent *discourses on the great doctrine of atonement*, lately published—by the Rev. Charles Daubeny, LL. B. author of a *Guide to the Church.*

† I know it has been thought, that this venerable figure called the *Cherubim* was set up to the eastward of Eden, merely as a guard to keep

matic representation, which was afterwards, by divine command, set up in the tabernacle of Moses, and temple of Solomon, the church or people of God were taught to perform that typical service, which pointed to Christ, as the *way*, the *truth*, and the *life*, and kept up among them a constant remembrance, that "without shedding of blood, there was no remission of sin."

It was to preserve a due regard to this fundamental article of religion, that God was pleased to appoint sacrifices of expiation and atonement for sin, and required such services to be observed through all succeeding generations, till the Redeemer himself should come, who was to do away all these shadows and emblems, and to make the true satisfaction, the only proper atonement. In proof of the earliness of this institution, it has been very justly remarked,

unhappy Adam from coming at the tree of life, and so the mysterious account here given of it has been much exposed to the scoffs and ridicule of unbelievers. On this subject we find the learned Lord President Forbes, in his *Thoughts concerning Religion*, thus delivering his sentiments with great plainness.—"The Jews, who have misconstrued the *angel Jehovah* into a *created angel*, have thought fit here to understand by the *Cherubim* two of the same sort of angels, who had got a flaming sword, to frighten Adam from re-entering *Eden*, and meddling with the fruit of the *tree of life*: and this monstrous story they have made out of a text, that necessarily means no such thing, and may fairly be construed to a sense big with the most important information to mankind. What is translated, *to keep the way of the tree of life*, with intent to prevent the coming at it, may as properly be rendered, *to observe*, or *for observing*, and so discovering and finding out, *the way to the tree of life*. And the word we translate *placed*, is almost always in every text translated *inhabited*" (as in a tent or tabernacle); "and whether you translate it *placed* or *inhabited*, the next word ought to be translated *the* Cherubim, as things, or *emblems*, well known to those for whom Moses wrote. So that Jehovah's *placing* or *inhabiting* these Cherubim, was the method chosen by him, to make the *way to the tree of life kept or observed.*" See more to the same purpose, tending to show that the *Cherubim* of the scriptures were mystical figures of high antiquity and great signification, being, as Irenæus calls them, "Resemblances of the dispensation of the Son of God," that is, the Christian economy.

that the skins, with which God is said to have clothed the nakedness of our first parents, must have been the skins of beasts, that had been offered by them in sacrifice, since at that time they were not allowed to kill them for any other purpose: And this typical clothing was a most comfortable emblem of that covering and protection from divine wrath, that garment of salvation provided for man, by the sacrifice of the Lamb of God, who was to take away the sin of the world.

The rite of sacrifice being thus established by divine authority, as the instituted emblem of redeeming love, it may well be supposed, that Adam and his family would be ready to testify their grateful acceptance of that love, and dependence on it, by a regular application to the means appointed for directing the eye of the faithful offerer to that great atonement, which the blood of the slain animal was designed to shadow forth. Indeed, we are expressly informed, that the two sons of Adam, Cain and Abel, brought each of them an offering unto the Lord,* but with this remarkable difference, that God is said to have "had respect unto Abel, and to his offering, while unto Cain, and to his offering, he had not respect:" The reason of which is given in these words of the Epistle to the Hebrews; "By faith, Abel offered unto God a more excellent sacrifice than Cain, by which he obtained witness that he was righteous, God testifying of his gifts."† This it was that made the difference between his sacrifice and Cain's, that the one offered by faith, the other did not; by faith in the promised Redeemer, and from a humble hope of being accepted through his merits. And indeed this difference appears in

* Gen. iv. 3, 4. Where this offering is said to have been brought to the Lord "*in process of time*," or, as it is translated on the margin of our Bible, at "*the end of days*," or on the periodical return of that day, which had been sanctified from the beginning, and thereby more immediately set apart for the celebration of religious worship.

† Heb. xi. 4.

the very nature of their gifts or offerings. For Cain brought only of the fruit of the ground, as an acknowledgement of the divine bounty, in providing for his temporal support, and giving him a right to what the ground produced. But he showed no desire to act in conformity with that divine plan of salvation which the fall had rendered necessary for his spiritual comfort. He offered no living creature as an atonement for sin, and whose blood was to be shed as an acknowledgement of the forfeiture of life, and as a type or emblem of the all-atoning sacrifice of the great Redeemer. In short, he conducted himself as if he had wished to make it appear, that he had no sin to be atoned for, no belief in the one Mediator, and no thought of applying to God, through faith in his meritorious ransom. Whereas Abel, conscious of his fallen state, and the now sinful condition of man, offered a living creature to God, "the *firstlings* of his flock, and of the fat thereof," as the instituted type or memorial of the great *First-born*, through whose sacred blood the life that had been forfeited was to be restored. For which reason Abel is said to have offered *by faith*, and the Lord had respect to his offering, on account of the *excellence* which was thereby stamped upon it, and the typical relation which it bore to the sacrifice of that beloved Son, in whom God has been ever well-pleased. But the offering brought by Cain had no such qualities: It meant no expiation for sin, nor any acknowledgement of it; It was not made in faith; nay, it was so far from having respect to the Divine Intercessor, that it might rather be considered as a formal rejection of his intercession; and therefore it was rejected, and God had no respect to it, or to the offerer. In this early and remarkable instance we may see a lively representation, on the one hand, of the humble and devout Christian, who, after all his most sincere and diligent endeavours in the way of his duty, yet, conscious of his own infirmities, relies upon the merits of his Saviour; and on the other hand, a representation of those,

who either ascribe too much to their own merits, or, by a fatal misapprehension, neglect and undervalue that only method of atonement and acceptance, through which God hath declared, he will be reconciled to sinners.

We have no reason to think that God was any "respecter of persons," in the case of Cain and Abel, as recorded in the sacred history; for it was the different quality of their offerings, and the different dispositions with which they were offered, that occasioned the difference of respect which was shown to them: and I have insisted the longer on this instance, because it gives us so plain, and so early an account of the origin of sacrifices, and the true meaning and design of them. It shows us that sacrifice had an evident reference to the promised Redeemer, and being instituted on the first declaration of mercy through him, and carefully observed by the first family of the human race, was by them transmitted to all mankind. Hence we may easily perceive, how the notion of expiating sin, and appeasing the offended Deity by sacrifices, became so universal, and spread itself into the most distant ages and countries. When the sons of men began to multiply, and to disperse themselves in colonies upon the face of the whole earth, they never failed to carry these sacred rites along with them, as well knowing how precious a treasure they contained; and that in the religious and due use of them, they might humbly expect the forgiveness of their sins, and the favour of God, through the efficacy of that all-sufficient sacrifice, which they typically represented, and which was in the fulness of time to be offered for the sins of the whole world. We need not wonder then, that in these primitive ages, men were so tenacious of such important rites, and took all due care to evince the high opinion they entertained of them, as the appointed emblems of that stupendous transaction, on which rested all their hopes of pardon, and peace with God.

After the account, which the inspired historian gives us,

of the acceptance of Abel's offering, and the rejection of Cain's, who, in consequence of "the voice of his brother's blood crying from the ground, went out from the presence of the Lord, a fugitive and vagabond in the earth," we meet with little, except Enoch's translation, that is particularly descriptive of the character of God's faithful people, till the day arrived, when, "by faith, Noah being warned of God, of things not seen as yet, moved with fear, prepared an ark to the saving of his house, by the which he condemned the world, and became heir of the righteousness, which is by faith."* Such was the effect ascribed by an apostle to the faith of Noah, who, notwithstanding every appearance to the contrary, being firmly convinced that the flood would come, according to the Divine warning, went on with his awful preparation, and found that safety and protection in his righteous course, which were denied to the world of the ungodly. "His friends and neighbours, who had either neglected, or presumptuously derided his pious admonitions, looked in vain to him for help! There was no *hiding place*, no *refuge from the storm*, but within the ark —and God had shut the door. The waters, which soon rose above the highest hills, bore all away with irresitible force; the day of acceptance was over, and the night of judgment closed in for ever, on a corrupt and perverse generation."† But even then, though the pillars of the earth were shaken from their foundation, and its apostate and rebellious inhabitants were swept away by the overwhelming deluge, the building of God, the work of redemption was not overthrown. The church of the Redeemer, now confined to eight persons, remained safe and secure:‡ And as soon as Noah had gone forth out of the

* Heb. xi. 7.

† See this subject treated with uncommon strength and elegance of expression, in *Sermons preached at Laura Chapel, Bath, during the season of Advent*, 1799, *by the Rev. Francis Randolph, D. D.*

‡ There is a beautiful allusion to this circumstance in one of the

ark, and he and all that it contained were placed again upon a new world, we find him entering on the renewed duties of life, with an act of worship to his merciful Preserver. "Noah builded an altar unto the Lord, and took of every clean beast, and of every clean fowl, and offered burnt offerings on the altar."* From the distinction of *clean* beasts and fowls, which is here so particularly mentioned, it is evident, that these offerings, as well as this distinction, must have been made by divine appointment; and the life of these creatures was taken away, and their blood shed, as a memorial of that everlasting covenant, through the blood of which, life was to be restored to man. It was this divine life-giving covenant, the establishment of which was promised to Noah before the flood, and the promise repeated after it to him and his sons, in the same strong expressive terms—"And I," says God, "behold I establish *my* covenant with you;"† thus challenging an exclusive property in it, and pointing it out as his own act and deed; not as a thing, which had then only begun to take place, but had been of long standing, and was now by this solemn promise so ratified and established, as to give the strongest ground of assurance that it could not fail, but would stand fast for ever.

We have seen how the terms of this covenant were proposed to Adam after his fall, and means appointed for preserving the remembrance of them, and confirming a dutiful dependence on them. With the same view they were renewed to Noah, both before and after the flood; and God, we are told, was pleased to set his bow in the

prayers of the Office of Baptism, wherein we beg of that "Almighty God, who of his great mercy did save Noah and his family in the ark from perishing by water, that the child—or infant voyager, being delivered from his wrath, may be received into the *ark* of Christ's *church*, and so pass the waves of this troublesome world, that finally he may come to the land of everlasting life."

* Gen. viii. 20. † Gen. ix. 9.

cloud, as a token of his covenant, a pledge of his mercy to man, through the merits and mediation of that mighty One, whom St. John saw sitting "on the throne in heaven, and there was a rainbow round about the throne."* Yet with this emblem of God's power and goodness staring them in the face, the descendants of Noah soon began to forsake the ways of the Lord, and at last filled up the measure of their iniquity, by that idolatrous confederacy, which occasioned their dispersion at Babel. Thus "scattered abroad upon the face of all the earth," they departed also from the worship and service of the true God; and all would again have been lost in idolatry and corruption, had not the divine mercy interposed for the preservation of truth and righteousness. For this purpose, the wisdom of heaven judged it necessary to separate some one individual from the degenerate mass of mankind; and the person selected was the patriarch Abraham, called by God to be the father of the church of the Hebrews, and of the promised seed, which was to bruise the head of the serpent. The history of this distinguished character exhibits, as might well be expected, many wonderful interpositions of divine providence, tending to confirm the "precious promises," which had been made to Adam and Noah, and still affording a clearer intimation of the council of God, and a stronger pledge of the immutability of his gracious purpose towards all the families of the earth.† We are assured by St. Paul, that "the gospel was preached unto Abraham,"‡ when it was not only revealed to him, but that revelation was also confirmed by an oath, that "in his seed all the nations of the earth should be blessed." And the same apostle, reasoning on this important subject, in his Epistle to the Hebrews, tells us, that "when God made promise to

* Rev. iv. 3.

† See Dr. Randolph's excellent Sermon on the character of Abraham.

‡ Gal. iii. 8.

Abraham, because he could swear by no greater, he sware by himself. For men verily swear by the greater; and an oath for confirmation is to them an end of all strife: wherein God willing more abundantly to show to the heirs of promise the immutability of his counsel, interposed himself by an oath, that by two immutable things, in which it was impossible for God to lie, we might have a strong consolation."* Now, what can these two immutable things be, but first, God's *interposing himself*, and then the *oath*, both showing the immutability of his counsel? And how could we Christians derive consolation from this solemn transaction, unless it referred to a covenant of mercy, in which the whole race of mankind were concerned, and of which that partial exhibition made to Abraham, was only designed to preserve the memory, and secure the benefits of it to him and his posterity, till the seed should come, to whom the first promise was made; even that promise which was also ratified with an oath, and of which it is said—"Jehovah hath sworn, and will not repent, thou art a priest for ever, after the order of Melchizedek."† St. Paul has clearly pointed out the person here referred to, and the nature of that unchangeable priesthood, which, according to the terms of the everlasting covenant, confirmed and even sworn to by the adorable Three in Jehovah, was to remove the curse from, and procure a blessing to, all the nations of the earth. Even Abraham himself was blessed by this Melchizedek, priest of the most High God; and beholding his promised Redeemer under that mysterious character, he *rejoiced* to see the day of his incarnation, and our Saviour himself assured the Jews, that "*he saw it and was glad.*"‡ It was with a view of enforcing conviction on his unbelieving countrymen, and showing how strangely they had departed from the faith of their ancestors, that our Lord gave them this assurance; thus proving himself to

* Heb. vi. 13, 16, 17, 18. † Psalm cx. 4. ‡ St. John viii. 56.

have been the object of hope and dependence to their venerable progenitor, and that all the predictions and promises made to the faithful Abraham, were now fulfilled in him, whom yet they would not believe, because he told them the truth. Very different were the opinion and behaviour of one of their own priests, the father of John the Baptist, who, on the birth of his son, as the appointed forerunner of the Messiah, gave thanks to the "Lord God of Israel, because in visiting and redeeming his people, he had remembered his holy covenant, and the oath which he sware to their father Abraham."* From the subject of this oath, as described in what follows, it is evident, that Zacharias, on this remarkable occasion, was taught and directed by the holy Spirit, to celebrate the redemption of the world by the promised Saviour, as the great object of God's holy covenant, ratified by the oath of Jehovah, and shadowed out in all the types and figures which exhibited to the eye of faith that "tender mercy of our God, whereby the day-spring from on high hath visited us, to give light to them that sit in darkness, and in the shadow of death, and to guide our feet into the way of peace."†

This was the mercy which, Zacharias could say, was "promised to our fathers," and spoken of by all the holy prophets, from the beginning of the world. On these promises and predictions was built that strong and vigorous faith, which supported the patriarchs in all their trials; and in which they lived and died, looking forward, by the light which they enjoyed, to that salvation, which they knew was prepared, and would in due time be manifested, "before the face of all people." It was this light, which conducted the faithful Abraham to one of the mountains of Moriah; whither he was ordered by God to "take his son, his only son Isaac, whom he loved, and offer him there for a burnt-offering:"‡ And "by faith," says the Apos-

* St. Luke i. 72, 73. † St. Luke i. 78, 79. ‡ Gen. xxii. 2.

tle, " Abraham, when he was *tried*, offered up Isaac ; and he that had received the promises, offered up his *only begotten son*, of whom it was said, that in *Isaac* shall thy seed be called; accounting, that God was able to *raise* him up even from the *dead;* from whence also he received him in a figure :"* or more literally, in a *parable*, where something more is meant than that which is expressed. The impending death, and unexpected deliverance of Isaac, the only begotten son of Abraham, are the things here related: but the actual sacrifice, and resurrection of Christ, the only begotten Son of God, are the things which are also meant to be pointed out, with all the circumstances in which these will be found to agree with what is recorded of Isaac ; of whom " God said unto Abraham—In Isaac shall thy seed be called," and St. Paul affirms, that this seed " is Christ."†

As it is particularly mentioned in the history of these patriarchs, that " after the death of Abraham, God blessed his son Isaac,"‡ as the type or representative of the promised seed ; so when Isaac was old, and had blessed his son Jacob, as chosen of God for the same purpose, we are informed of a very striking vision, in which " Jacob beheld a ladder set upon the earth, and the top of it reached to heaven, and behold, the angels of God ascending and descending upon it; and behold, the Lord stood above it, and said—I am the Lord God of Abraham thy father, and the God of Isaac :"§ after which follows a renewal of the promise made to both these fathers—" In thee, and in thy seed, shall all the families of the earth be blessed." So this vision, with the blessing which accompanied it, was intended to confirm the patriarch's hope and trust in the one Mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus; who himself alluded to this symbolical appearance,

* Heb. xi. 17, 18, 19.
† Gen. xxi. 12, and Gal. iii. 16.
‡ Gen. xxv. 11.
§ Gen. xxviii. 12, 13.

when he said to Nathanael—an Israelite indeed—" Hereafter you shall see," what Jacob's vision prefigured, " Heaven open, and the angels of God ascending and descending," not on a ladder, but on him that was represented by it—" upon the Son of man."* But this was not the only encouraging assurance, which the patriarch Jacob received, that the " God of Bethel" was to be " in Christ, reconciling all things both in heaven and earth to himself." This same God was pleased soon after to exhibit a most wonderful support to the hope of his future incarnation, by appearing as *a man* to this distinguished patriarch, and *wrestling with him*, for the sake of changing his name from Jacob to *Israel*, and showing what power he had both with God and with men, as a *Prince:* alluding thereby to the name which he had just received; for *Israel* properly signifies—" a prince of God."† Though this appears to have been a very mysterious transaction, we can plainly discern, that the person who wrestled with Jacob was a divine person, even " Jehovah God of Hosts." For so we read in the book of the prophet Hosea, that " Jacob had power with God; yea, he had power over the angel, and prevailed: he wept, and made supplication unto him: he found him in Bethel, and there he spake with us, even Jehovah God of Hosts: Jehovah is his memorial:"‡ Agreeably to what the same God said to Moses—" Thus shalt thou say unto the children of Israel;—Jehovah—the God of your fathers, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, hath sent me unto you. This is my name for ever, and this is my memorial unto all generations."‖ From which it is evident, that *this* name *Jehovah* is his *memorial*, his appropriate, perpetual, incommunicable name; and what follows is " a most gracious declaration of this Jehovah's peculiar connections with the fathers of the Isra-

* St. John i. 51.
† Gen. xxxii. 24—29.
‡ Hosea xii. 3, 4, 5.
‖ Exod. iii. 15.

elites."* Depending as he well might on this powerful connection with Jehovah, as *his God*, we find "Jacob, when he was a dying, by faith blessing both the sons of

* So says one of the ablest biblical scholars of the age, the profoundly learned Dr. Horsley, lately Lord Bishop of Rochester, now of St. Asaph; who, in an advertisement at the end of his admirable translation of *Hosea*, adds the following *Remark* to his note on the word "*memorial*," (F. p. 143.) which most beautifully illustrates our present subject: namely—That the person, of whom it is said, that the name *Jehovah* is his memorial, is no other than he whom the patriarch found at Bethel, who there spake with the Israelites in the loins of their progenitor. He, whom the patriarch found at Bethel, who there, in that manner, spake with the Israelites, was by the tenor of the context, the antagonist, with whom Jacob was afterwards matched at Peniel. The antagonist, with whom he was matched at Peniel, wrestled with the patriarch, as we read it the book of Genesis, in the human form. The conflict was no sooner ended, than the patriarch acknowledged his antagonist as God. The holy prophet first calls him angel,† and after mention of the colluctation, and of the meeting and conference at Bethel, says,‡ that he, whom he had called angel, was "Jehovah God of Hosts." And to make the assertion of this person's godhead, if possible, still more unequivocal, he adds—that to him belonged, as his appropriate memorial, that name, which is declarative of the very essence of the Godhead! This MAN, therefore, of the book of Genesis, this ANGEL of Hosea, who wrestled with Jacob, could be no other than the *Jehovah-Angel*, of whom we so often read in the English bible, under the name of the "angel of the Lord." A phrase of an unfortunate structure, and so ill conformed to the original, that it is to be feared, it has led many into the error of conceiving of the Lord as one person, and of the angel as another. The word of the Hebrews, ill rendered "the Lord," is not, like the English word, an appellative expressing rank or condition; but it is the proper name *Jehovah*. And this proper name *Jehovah* is not, in the Hebrew, a genitive after the noun substantive "Angel," as the English represents it;—but the words in the Hebrew translated *Jehovah* and *Angel*, are two nouns substantive in apposition, both speaking of the same person; the one, by the appropriate name of the essence, the other by a title of office. "*Jehovah-Angel*" would be a better rendering. The Jehovah-Angel of the Old Testament is no other than He, who in the fulness of time, "was incarnate by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary."

† Hosea xii. 4. ‡ Hosea xii. 5.

Joseph;"* and in so doing, addressing himself to that "God, before whom his fathers Abraham and Isaac did walk; the God, which *fed* him all his life long, the Angel which *redeemed* him from all evil;"† which plainly showed that the hope of a *Redeemer*, under the character of the *Shepherd of Israel feeding* his flock with all good things, was to be handed down in the family of Joseph; whose typical history served to confirm that "hope of the promise made of God unto the fathers; unto which promise," says St. Paul, "our twelve tribes, instantly serving God day and night, hope to come."‡

The history of these twelve tribes of Israel, as recorded in the sacred writings, opens to us a wonderful source of evidence in support of the proposition now before us: And by considering what these people were; how they were supported by the power, directed by the wisdom, and instructed in the knowledge of Jehovah the true God, we shall readily perceive their typical relation to his Christ, the Saviour of the world, and the proof, which their whole economy clearly exhibits, that the religion of this Saviour was the same *yesterday* under the law, as it is *to-day* under the gospel, and will continue *for ever*, even unto the end of the world.

The rise and progress of the Jewish nation is one of the most surprising things to be met with in the page of history. Descended from these distinguished patriarchs, whose faith and piety we have been now contemplating, they were taught to look upon themselves as the peculiar objects of his providential care, who had so often declared himself to be "the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob."—Conducted by his merciful providence into the land of Egypt, they were there reduced to the most humiliating state of bondage; from which they could find no relief, till the four hundred years were expired, which, in the wise and mys-

* Heb. xi. 21. † Gen. xlviii. 15, 16. ‡ Acts xxvi. 6, 7.

terious designs of heaven, had been fixed as the period of their affliction. Emerging at last from this grievous depth of servitude, and delivered from their cruel oppressors by a most miraculous display of Almighty vengeance, they became a great and powerful people; possessed their promised land for many years, with the full exercise of their religion, and in the firm belief, derived from their sacred writings, that an extraordinary person, of their blood and kindred, was to arise, who should deliver them from all their enemies, and set upon a kingdom above all the kingdoms of the earth. Encouraged by this opinion, and totally misapprehending the character of their expected Deliverer, they rejected him, when he came; and quarrelling with the power which had them in subjection, after the most obstinate defence that ever people made, they were utterly overthrown, their city and temple destroyed, and those that escaped the sword, were scattered among all nations; where their posterity continue to this day, cut off from all the powers and privileges possessed by those among whom they reside; distinguished only by their peculiar observances, and a firm conviction, that their religion is from God, and their great Deliverer is still to come.

These are wonderful circumstances, and call for extraordinary attention. They afford the strongest arguments in favour of the Christian religion; since all that has happened to these scattered tribes of Israel was distinctly and repeatedly foretold in those scriptures of the Old and New Testement, on whose combined evidence, the truth of our glorious gospel rests with unshaken firmness. Often do we find it predicted in these sacred records, that the Jews should not only despise and reject, and even put to death the promised Messiah, and on this account be dispersed into all countries, and exposed to the greatest hardships; but also, that they should not be swallowed up, and lost among their conquerors, as has generally been the case with all vanquished nations, but should still subsist to latest

times, and under all their distresses and difficulties, be a distinct people. And how amazingly has this prophecy been fulfilled! Yet the pen, which divine inspiration guides, could hardly have pointed to a more singular or improbable occurrence. Nothing has happened like it in the course of human affairs. All the mighty monarchies, both of the east and west, are vanished like the shadows of the evening, with the setting sun; their places know them no more; while this contemptible race of fugitives are strangely secure without a friend or protector amidst the wreck of empires. There are some people now, as in our Saviour's time, who "will not believe, except they see signs and wonders." Let them look at this prodigy, which is daily in their view, and try if they can possibly account for it in any other way than by allowing it to be "the Lord's doing, and, therefore, so marvellous in our eyes."

Marvellous indeed must it appear, that a people so highly favoured of God; selected from all others to be his peculiar charge, and by his mighty hand rescued from bondage; conducted through numberless dangers and difficulties, and at length settled in a country destined for their habitation, and there constituted the guardians, as we may say, of the divine oracles and institutions, should yet abandon the great object, which all these marks of distinction had in view; be totally expelled from the land, which the Lord their God had given them, and rendered wholly incapable of performing the peculiar rites of their religious service; having neither altar, priest, nor temple, nor any vestige left of what the law required for making their solemn sacrifice. Does not all this plainly show that the law of Moses, in this respect, being already fulfilled, has no more its original end to answer; and that the whole Jewish economy, being but the shadow of good things to come, has very properly given place to the substance—to "the body which is of Christ?"* He was the real, permanent object

* Col. ii. 17.

shadowed out by all these figurative, temporary representations of the Mosaic ritual; and the whole order of the sacrifices, the whole disposition of the tabernacle, the whole ministry of the priesthood, pointed to him as the "one true propitiatory sacrifice, the true tabernacle, which the Lord pitched, and not man—the eternal High Priest, who is passed into the heavens, there to make continual intercession for them that come to God by him." To him give all the types of the law, as well as "all the prophets witness;" and it was solely on his account, that the people of Israel were kept together, and supported by a train of miracles; for on his leaving the world, when his work here below was finished, this chosen nation was dispersed over all the earth, and its policy completely dissolved.

Such then being the true nature of the *legal* dispensation, and such the design of the whole Israelitish economy, the question needs no longer be asked—"Wherefore then serveth the law?" The same Apostle, who states the question, gives also the proper answer; when speaking of the promise of mercy made to Abraham, he tells us, that the law was "added because of transgressions, till the seed should come," that is, Christ, "to whom the promise was made."* By saying that the law *was added*, he plainly intimates, that there was something known and practised before, to which this addition was made; and what could that be, but the evangelical promise renewed to Abraham, and the worship and obedience required, in consequence of that promise, to which the law was *added* by way of preservation, and in order to lessen transgression for the time to come? Through the corruption of the patriarchal religion, many sorts of transgression prevailed among the heathen nations, who took their rise from the confusion at Babel, and grew up into the wildest idolaters, worshipping their imaginary deities with such abominable practices as

* Gal. iii. 19.

made them hateful to the true God, and of course very dangerous neighbours to those who still believed in him, and adhered to his service. For this reason God was pleased to raise a wall of division between the Hebrews and the heathens, and laid his people under every possible obligation that might preserve them from mingling with those that served other gods, and learning their ways. As a wise and good parent would keep his children from the seducing company of profligates and blasphemers, so did the Almighty Father of heaven and earth guard his holy family from all the abominations of that bewitching idolatry, by which they were surrounded. "Ye shall be holy unto me," said God to the children of Israel, "for I the Lord am holy, and have severed you from other people, that ye should be mine."*

Thus claiming them as his children, he had also condescended to provide a schoolmaster for them, to teach them the rudiments of heavenly knowledge, and so train them up in the true faith and fear of their God. "The law," says St. Paul, "was our schoolmaster unto Church;"† was designed to instruct those who lived under it in the character and office of the expected Messiah; for which purpose, as scholars are confined in a school, so were they separated from the world, to learn and practise continually those signs and figures, by which this wonderful person was described to them. Nothing can be more plain and distinct, than the precepts and institutions of the law, if the mere outward act and observance of them had been all that was required. Yet we find, it was the fervent desire and earnest prayer of those who had a just sense of this matter, that God would *teach* them, and make them to *understand* the precepts of his law, in which they were commanded to "*meditate* day and night." And that this constant *meditation* was necessary to unravel the true meaning and design

* Levit. xx. 26. † Gal. iii. 24.

of it, will sufficiently appear, if we only consider one of its most striking and solemn institutions, the rite of sacrifice, or shedding the blood of living creatures as an offering to God; which surely required a considerable degree of attention in discovering the end and object of it, as well as the disposition with which it ought to be performed. It is not only contrary to the common sense and reason of mankind, but declared by an inspired Apostle to be absolutely "impossible, that the blood of bulls, and of goats, should take away sins."*—There was no such inherent value in the blood of these victims; nor could any necessary connection be supposed between the slaying of these or any such creatures, and the saving of a sinner. But then what was wanting in their general nature, was made up by special institution; and these animals, being once devoted and set apart for this service, acquired a new relation, and of consequence a value from the substance, of which they were only types and shadows. The offering of these was then only acceptable to the Deity, when it was considered as his own appointment; and in consequence of a due attention to the *hidden things* of the law, was performed with faith and humility, as a memorial of that Lamb of God, who was in due time to be *manifested*, that he might take away sin by the sacrifice of himself.

In contradiction, however, to this train of reasoning, so clearly confirmed by the authority of scripture, it has been supposed, that the practice of worshipping the deity by sacrifice was merely a human invention, and kindly accepted by God, only in compliance with the weakness of his creatures.—Nay, it has been assigned as one considerable reason for God's sending his Son into the world to take away sin by the sacrifice of himself, that this was a wise and gracious condescension to that strong apprehension, and persuasion, which had so early and universally

* Heb. x. 4.

prevailed among mankind, concerning the expiation of sin, and appeasing the offended Deity by sacrifices of living creatures. But can it really be imagined, with any sort of reason or propriety, that the all-wise purposes of heaven, and the unsearchable counsels of God, should be directed or influenced by the vain conceits and inventions of men; or that the customs of a blinded and corrupted world should furnish a proper pattern for the divine proceedings! No, certainly: The mysterious dispensation, which produced the sacrifice of the Son of God, had a much nobler, and a more appropriate original. It was the result of the greatest mercy conducted by infinite wisdom, and rests on no other foundation than the immutability of that divine counsel which was confirmed by an oath; that everlasting covenant for man's redemption entered into by the adorable Three in Deity, before the world began. This was the source of that gracious undertaking, which prepared a body for the promised Redeemer, in which he might do and suffer the will of God, by giving himself a ransom for man; and from this all-sufficient and meritorious sacrifice, which in the purpose of God was offered from the foundation of the world, proceeded not only the institution and acceptance of those offerings which we read of, as brought to the Lord by his own people, but also the corruption and abuse of this institution, which prevailed among the heathens, and gave rise to all their abominable superstitions. For, as has been justly observed in a late excellent publication, "had there been no true religion, there could not have been any that is false. Had there been no divine institutions, superstition would have had no foundation on which to have raised its imaginary superstructure. The very abuse of sacrifice, therefore, proves the divinity of its origin. For to the perversion of sacred tradition, are the corruptions of heathenism to be traced up:* And as the

* See p. 303. of the Rev. Charles Daubeny's volume of Discourses on the great Doctrine of Atonement, where we meet with the following very

Deity repeatedly and formally disclaimed all virtue, considered as inherent in the sacrifices themselves, the Divine appointment of them could have no other object in view, than to direct the eye of the offerer to that great atonement, which the blood of the slain animal was designed to shadow forth; being the appointed emblem of that precious blood, which, according to the eternal purpose, was to redeem the life of man. In like manner," says the same learned author,* "the offering up that commemorative sacrifice, which characterizes the Christian altar, is an acknowledgment on our parts, that our lives were forfeited, and have been redeemed by the body and blood of Christ, actually offered up on the cross. Bread and wine are but the instituted emblems, deriving all their spiritual efficacy from the relation they bear to that important transaction, which they were appointed to represent. Thus the typical sacrifice of the Jewish temple, and the commemorative one of the Christian church, direct our thoughts to the same divine object of contemplation; each in its peculiar way furnishing a figurative exhibition of the recovery of man from the effects of the fall, through the mediation of that divine

apposite note.—"The more this subject, the most fruitful in the whole compass of literature, is investigated, the more satisfied shall we be, that the images of heathen idolatry were but the corruptions, according to the imaginations of men at different times, of that primitive symbolical representation, originally set up at the fall, for the purpose of preserving the faith, and characterizing the worship of the true religion. The reader has only to go far enough back, and he will arrive at the same divine fountain, to which the pure stream of patriarchal religion, and the corrupt one of heathenish superstition are to be traced up. Mr. Maurice, in his *Dissertation on the Oriental Trinities* (which by bringing the counterfeits, the *Pagan Triads*, to prove the *realities*, thereby makes the corruption of revelation bear testimony to the truth of it) has done much in assisting the reader in this interesting research. If the reader would be further assisted, he will find more useful, because more correct, information upon it in the *Trinitarian Analogy*, by that most excellent divine, the late William Jones;" to be found in vol. i. of his Theological, Philosophical and Miscellaneous Works, published in 1801.

* P. 360, 361.

person, who by the all-sufficient sacrifice of himself, became the Redeemer of a lost world."

We have now taken a short view of the Jewish economy, or law of Moses, in the light wherein St. Paul represents it; not only as a necessary addition to the patriarchal religion, for preserving God's people from the idolatry and wickedness of the heathen nations, but also as "a schoolmaster unto Christ," leading men by the discipline of its types and shadows to the knowledge of real and substantial truths; in which capacity, our Lord himself tells us—that "the law prophesied until John the Baptist;" till he succeeded it in that office,—who seeing Jesus coming to him, spoke the very language of its institutions, when he said —"Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world."*

This too has been the language of prophecy from the very beginning of the world; and as soon as we look into the prophetic writings of the Old Testament, we find them unfolding the design of the Redeemer's coming, and the process of the redemption wrought by him, in the fullest and most particular manner. We are told, that a great Person was to come, bringing peace and salvation to all nations; who should be *Immanuel* or *God with us;*—born of a virgin, poor and obscure, yet one whom David calls *his Lord;*—the Lord to whom the temple belonged,—the mighty God,—a great King,—an everlasting Priest—a Prophet like unto Moses, but much greater; who should be anointed by the spirit of the Lord God, to preach the gospel to the poor, to proclaim liberty to the captives, and comfort to the mourners, and to heal the broken-hearted; —who should work miracles of the most merciful and beneficent kind; and yet, notwithstanding all his power and goodness, should be rejected by the greater part of his nation; be despised and afflicted; a man of sorrows, and

* St. John i. 29.

acquainted with grief; accused by false witnesses; betrayed by an intimate friend; sold for thirty pieces of silver; treated by his enemies in the most barbarous manner, and at last put to a shameful and tormenting death; while all the time, he should be led like a lamb to the slaughter, not opening his mouth, but to pray for his enemies, and make intercession for the transgressors. All these and many more circumstances of the same kind pointed so clearly to what really happened in the land of Judah, and were so punctually fulfilled in the person of Jesus of Nazareth, that it is astonishing how the Jews could overlook the striking evidence afforded by so many plain and literal predictions. Perhaps at the time when these things were passing before them, and they themselves were promoting the accomplishment of this awful mystery, they might have been so blinded by pride and prejudice, as not to see or consider what had been done, or what they themselves were doing. But after they had got time to reflect on all that had happened, and to compare it with what had been prophesied; we may indeed wonder how they failed to perceive where the truth lay, and honestly to confess, in the words of one of our Lord's first disciples—" we have found him, of whom *Moses* in the law and the *prophets* did write, Jesus of Nazareth, the son of Joseph."*

It was to *Moses* and the *prophets* that Abraham is represented in the parable, as referring the rich man's unbelieving brethren for the evidence of a future state;† and when Jesus gave this direction to his incredulous countrymen—" Search the scriptures, for in them, ye think ye have eternal life, and they are they which testify of me;"‡ they were the writings of *Moses* and the *prophets*, the only scriptures then known, which thus bore testimony to him, as the author of eternal life to all them that believe. With the same view, we find him kindly rebuking two of his

* St. John i. 45. † St. Luke xvi. 29—31. ‡ St. John v. 39.

followers, as foolishly backward to believe what the prophets had spoken; and then we are told, that "beginning at *Moses*, and all the *prophets*, he expounded unto them in all the scriptures, the things concerning himself."* In imitation of his blessed Master, we find St. Paul employed in "expounding and testifying the kingdom of God," to the Jews at Rome, and "persuading them concerning Jesus, both out of the law of *Moses*, and out of the *prophets*;"† and that this had been his constant, and most effectual method of persuasion, appears evidently from part of his admirable defence before king Agrippa; wherein he declares, that "having obtained help of God, he had continued unto that day, witnessing both to small and great, saying none other things than those, which the *prophets* and *Moses* did say should come: that Christ should suffer, and that he should be the first that should rise from the dead, and should show light unto the people, and to the Gentiles."‡

If then this eminent preacher of the gospel, in the testimony which he bore to the truth of it, said none other things, than what *Moses* and the *prophets* had said should come, with regard to the sufferings, and exaltation of the expected Messiah,—the light of the Gentiles, and the glory of his people Israel; the obvious and necessary inference to be drawn from these premises is, that there is no other difference between the preaching of Moses and the prophets, and that of an Apostle of Christ, but this—that the former points to the promised Saviour, as yet to come; the latter exhibits him as already come.—But he is in fact the sum and substance of both parts of divine revelation; and what is called the *New* Testament, containing the writings of Apostles and Evangelists, speaks no other language than what the *Old* Testament had spoken before by Moses and the prophets, respecting the scheme of man's salvation, except in so far as relates to the way and manner

* St. Luke xxiv. 27. † Acts xxviii. 23. ‡ Acts xxvi. 22, 23.

in which that gracious scheme was exhibited to the world. The Old Testament went before, to announce what was to be delivered in the New: and the New Testament came after, to interpret the Old: but both, like the Cherubim over the mercy seat, bear a constant and friendly aspect towards each other, united in, and intent upon carrying on, one and the same gracious design of promoting the glory of God in the salvation of men.

This is the view in which we are taught to behold these two dispensations of divine mercy, as distinguished by the characters of *Old* and *New;* not as though they were two distinct schemes of religion unconnected with each other, but as what they really are, two parts of the same beautiful whole, mutually confirming and illustrating each other; and to be considered as *Old* and *New*, only with respect to the time and manner of their being manifested to the world. It is therefore well and wisely declared in the *seventh article* of the Church of England, that "the Old Testament is not contrary to the New; for both in the Old and New Testament, everlasting life is offered to mankind by Christ, who is the only Mediator between God and man, being both God and man. Wherefore they are not to be heard, which feign that the old fathers did look only for transitory promises." How can it possibly be feigned, or imagined, that they looked only for transitory promises, when an inspired Apostle expressly assures us, that those whom he enumerates "all died in faith, not having received the promises, but having seen them afar off, and were persuaded of them, and embraced them, and confessed that they were strangers and pilgrims on the earth, desiring a better country, and looking forward to the city, which God hath prepared for them; 'even as we Christians,' having here no continuing city, seek one to come."* So it is evident, that they and we, having the same object

* Heb. xi. 13—16. and xiii. 14.

in view, and travelling to the same country, must be directed to it by the same means; that is, by a firm and steady faith in him, who is "the way, the truth and the life;"* the way in which we are to walk, the truth, by which we are to be guided, and the life in which our journey is to end.

Although the dispensation, under which we live, be called the *New* Testament, we are not to suppose, that it differs in substance from the *Old*, or points to any new way of salvation which was not known before. For since the fall of man, there has been but one way discovered for his recovery; one scheme of mercy, at first revealed in the promise of deliverance by the "seed of the woman;"—represented by the emblematic appearance at the east of the sacred garden,—and afterwards more fully exhibited in the religious services, and mystical offerings of the "old fathers," both before and under the law. These were appointed to *prefigure*, what our eucharistic service is designed to *commemorate* as actually accomplished by the sacrifice of Christ—"the one oblation once offered for the sins of the whole world." Thus the Patriarchal, the Jewish, and the Christian economy, will all be found to unite in directing the eye of the faithful to the same object of evangelical hope, from the revelation of the promised seed to Adam in paradise, through the shadows of the law, to its designed completion in the person of Jesus Christ,—"the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world." And when, at the consummation of all things, the Patriarch, the Jew, and the Christian, shall be assembled before the throne that is set in heaven; as they will all have had but one source of hope here below, so will they then join in one song of praise, with the mystic powers on high—saying—"Blessing, honour, glory and power be unto him that sitteth on the throne, and unto the *Lamb* for ever and ever."†

From the account that has now been given of the primi-

* St. John xiv. 6. † Rev. v. 13.

tive institution of religion, as founded in the immutable counsel of that "Father of lights, with whom is no variableness, neither shadow of turning;" I think it must evidently appear, that the way of salvation, which divine wisdom has marked out for the human race, is no new discovery, peculiar to this or that age of the world. It is as old as the "way of the tree of life," of which a very early symbol was appointed to keep fallen man in remembrance; and with respect to which the last book of the inspired volume delivers this encouraging promise—"To him that overcometh will I give to eat of the tree of life, which is in the midst of the paradise of God."* The same emblem is made use of in both cases, to show that the means of procuring life to man have been the same from the beginning, and will continue to the end of the world. Nothing is more likely to hurt the cause of Christianity, and obstruct its salutary influence on the minds of men, than the false notions, which prevail respecting its original, and the mean, degrading ideas, which some are disposed to entertain with regard to its Author, and the plan on which it was preached and propagated in the world about eighteen centuries ago. Those who view it as a system, which was then entirely new, and had never been heard of before, sit down very coolly to weigh its merits as placed in the balance with the schemes of heathen philosophy, and natural divinity, which then were or since have been set in opposition to it. They do not see, or are not willing to see that light of evidence, which shows the truth and purpose of the everlasting covenant, entered into by the adorable Three in Jehovah for man's redemption, before the foundations of the world were laid. They overlook the unity of this grand and merciful design, and will not observe that beautiful chain of connection, by which the "promise was united with the performance, the prophecy

* Rev. ii. 7.

with the completion, the anticipation with the event;"* all tending to illustrate the character, and display the glories of that Almighty Deliverer, who from the very fall of man, stood forth his Redeemer and Intercessor. They do not consider, that for the manifestation of this wonderful person, in whom all the nations of the earth were to be blessed, there was a fulness of time appointed, to which all the preceding dispensations looked forward; just as there is now a fulness of time determined, to which our views ought to be continually directed, when all the nations of the earth will be summoned to appear before the tribunal of that "just and righteous One," who came first to save, and will at last come to judge the world.

These are the great and interesting objects, which our Christian principles lead us to contemplate: And when we survey the imminent danger to which such principles are exposed, from the careless indifference which appears on the one hand, and the wild enthusiasm which breaks out on the other, both equally tending to sap the foundation, and destroy the purity of the Christian faith; surely we cannot but see the necessity of exerting our utmost endeavours to hold fast our profession, and to fix the certainty and security of our belief on its only solid basis—"the truth as it is in Jesus." If his religion be true, it must be so in every part that is now exhibited to our view; it must have been always so in every period of time; and those several objects, about which our faith is exercised, the creation, the redemption, and the sanctification of man, were all presented at once to the eye of Almighty love; they all began together in the unchangeable purpose of Jehovah, and will move on in merciful procession, as the covenanted, confederate work of the glorious Three in one undivided Essence, till time shall be no more.

Little then are we obliged to those teachers of natural theology, those advocates for what is called *Rational Reli-*

* See Dr. Randolph's Sermons on this subject.

gion, who would take us out of the hands of our first, our best, our only safe instructor, to prove to us, that there is a God who made us, and a future state of retribution reserved for us; and after carrying us to the borders of that awful state, there to leave us without a Saviour, or a Sanctifier, who only can enable us to pass the bounds, the great gulph fixed between our fallen nature and a happy immortality. Is it thus, that the light of the gospel, the meridian brightness of the sun of righteousness, is to receive additional splendour from the feeble taper of human reason, the pitiful glimmering of what is called *the Light of Nature?* Is it thus, that philosophy is to be brought in, to the aid of religion; and the emptiness of man's fluctuating judgment and understanding to be opposed to that fulness of wisdom and knowledge, which dwells for ever in the most High? No: it is not by such expedients as these, that the cause of Christianity is to be supported, and its influence promoted in the world. We have seen them tried in the balance, and found wanting. God has permitted the experiment to be made, and under a pretence of refining and improving the religion of Christ, by explaining its doctrines in such a rational manner, as may recommend it to more general acceptance, a plan has been carried on with wonderful success, for stripping it of all its primary importance, and holding it up, as but a secondary object in the scale of Divine Providence.*

* This plan seems to be recommended by Archdeacon Paley, who maintains that "he, who by a diligent and faithful examination of the original records, dismisses from the system one article, which contradicts the apprehension, the experience, or the reasoning of mankind, does more towards recommending the belief, and with the belief, the influence of Christianity, to the understandings and consciences of serious inquirers, and through them to universal reception and authority, than can be effected by a thousand contenders for creeds and ordinances of human establishment." This no doubt is partly true, as far as "the apprehension, the experience, or the reasoning of mankind" may be opposed to "creeds and ordinances of *human* establishment." But are

With this view, it has been laid down as an incontrovertible position, that what is called Natural Religion constitutes the basis of revelation, and having therefore prior authority, must be considered as of superior obligation. Accordingly, its laws are represented as eternal and unchangeable, antecedent to the will of God, and independent on it; so perfectly agreeable to reason, and the fitness of things, that God as well as man, the Creator as well as the creature, is obliged to conform to them. The light of nature is thought to be sufficient for the discovery of all that is necessary to be known respecting the will and perfections of the Deity; and as this boasted light can only discover what are called moral duties, they are said to carry with them a natural or eternal obligation; while positive duties are but mere arbitrary commands, void of all internal excellency. These and such like metaphysical distinctions have been eagerly laid hold of, to establish the necessity of a constant appeal to the tribunal of human reason; and no precept of scripture must be received as a rule of duty, till it be proved to agree with the dictates of philosophy, and its utility be tried by the standard of human wisdom. By thus throwing so much weight into the scale of reason, and so little into that of revelation, as if every one had a right to frame a religion for himself; the authority of scripture is daily more and more weakened and despised, the value of Christianity is proportionably depre-

there no creeds and ordinances of *divine* establishment, every article of which must be retained as part of the Christian system, however contradictory it may appear to the judgment or apprehension of "the natural man—the disputer of this world?" Is there not a "faith—once delivered to the saints," which must be "early *contended for*," by all who hope to share in "the common salvation?" and which faith, he who maintains in its purity, as founded on the authority of God, does more towards recommending the belief and influence of true Christianity, than "a thousand such contenders" as Dr. Paley, for "the apprehension, the experience, or the reasoning of mankind." See the dedication of his "*Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy*," to the Bishop of Carlisle.

ciated; infidelity raises its proud aspiring head, and taking advantage of the high ground on which its favourite religion of nature has been (even by some men of distinguished abilities) imprudently placed, exalts itself against that true knowledge of God, and divine things, which can only be derived from divine revelation.*

Thus we may plainly see, that nothing has done greater mischief to our holy religion, than the vain attempts of some of its teachers to bring down its exalted truths to the standard of human reason; these attempts having in some measure invited its enemies to join issue with those that appear to be friendly to it, that the former may strengthen their hands by the unguarded concessions of the latter.—So in fact it has been found, that some of the strongest, and most pointed attacks that have been made on Christianity, have derived their chief strength from the acknowledgment of this principle, that natural religion is the foundation of all that is instituted and revealed: a principle, which, as some have been pleased to consider as the ground of their faith, others have been bold to hold forth, at least with less inconsistency, as the support of their infidelity. And if it be true, as some Christian divines have thought proper to allow, that "unless all the great things contained in the law of nature are first known and believed, the revelation of God himself can signify nothing," it may no doubt be affirmed with equal confidence, that where all these things are already known and believed, revelation can signify but little. For if nature and reason can so easily dis-

* If the reader be desirous of obtaining farther information on this interesting subject, I would beg leave to recommend him to a work, in the perusal of which he will be sure to receive both the benefit and pleasure that must arise from complete satisfaction, and which is very properly entitled, *The Knowledge of Divine Things from Revelation, not from Reason or Nature.* By the late John Ellis, D. D. Vicar of St. Catherine's, Dublin, and formerly of Brazen Nose College, Oxford. London, 1771.

cover the most important truths, and be sufficient to direct man in the way of his duty, and lead him to the happiness designed for him, there does not appear to be much necessity for any other guide; nay, there is hardly room left for any other, where the mind is already preoccupied with the sufficiency of its own powers, and feels itself in possession of every religious truth that is worth the inquiring after. The consequence of all this must be, that in proportion as reason is exalted, and the comprehension of the human mind enlarged beyond its proper limits, the importance and value of revelation will be just so far depressed and under-rated, till at last reason becomes absolutely independent and self-sufficient, and will either have a religion entirely of its own devising, or none at all.

Thus does the pride of human nature tempt men to employ the reason which God has given them, in direct opposition to the will and intention of the Giver, without considering the folly and baseness of such unworthy conduct, and into what gross absurdities it must infallibly lead them. If these men would know what reason is without revelation, and to what it would lead them in matters of religion, if unassisted, and left to itself, let them consult the histories of those heathen nations, who knew nothing of the Old Testament, while it was the only scripture, or who since then have never heard of Christ and his gospel. There they will soon discover what strange work their idol reason has made in the world; how it has multiplied Deities like the sand of the sea, and "changed the glory of the incorruptible God, into an image made like to corruptible man, and to birds, and four-footed beasts, and creeping things;"* how it has led men to offer sacrifice unto devils, in a variety of forms, and in the most inhuman and barbarous manner; and, in a word, that there is scarce any thing so absurd and ridiculous, or so monstrous and abominable,

* Rom. i. 23.

but what the vain, self-sufficient reason of man has made an object of religious worship.

To use the words, therefore, of a late admirable address to the patrons and professors of the new philosophy: "Let the modern reasoner, who would make as good a religion by the help of nature, and his own faculties, as we have received from the lights of revelation, and the doctrines of the gospel, take his ground where he will, provided he does not go without the heathen pale; and let him keep it.—Let him borrow no assistance from Moses, and let him assume to himself all the lights that he can find, all the rational religion he can collect, not only in the world then known, but in the world since discovered, in all the nations of the east, where reason surely, as far as arts and sciences were concerned, was in no contemptible state; in America, to the north and to the south, in all the continents and islands, which modern navigation has added to the map of the world, as the Romans knew in the Augustan age; let him pursue his researches, and when he has made his tour through all their temples and pagodas, let him erect his trophies to reason, and publish his discoveries with what confidence he may. Alas! for mankind, and the boasted dignity of human reason, he will bring back nothing but a raree-show of idols, a museum of monsters, Egyptian, Indian and Chinese deformities, and non-descripts, the creatures of earth, air and sea, snakes, reptiles, even stocks and stones promoted to be gods, and man degenerating, and debasing himself to kneel down before these dumb divinities, and pay them worship.—And now, if this is all that he, who opposes the religion of revelation, can discover, and make prize of in the religion of reason, I give him joy of his discoveries, and wish him candidly to declare, if upon result of those discoveries, he can believe so well of himself as to suppose, that had he lived in those days, he would have found out any thing more than was found out by those who lived in them: whether, if he had

singly engrossed the collected wisdom of the seven wise men of Greece, he would have revealed a better system of religion to the world than Christ has revealed; and whether he would have known the will of God better than God knew it himself, and more clearly have communicated it to mankind."*

Whoever duly considers the scope and force of this reasoning, can be at no loss to discover the obvious conclusion in favour of divine revelation; to which it is evident, that men are indebted for all that pretended religion of nature which they so fondly boast of, and which is no other than what they derived from the use of the sacred writings, and the instruction received from those who had the care of their education. Thus the revealed truths, which took early possession of their souls, which they were taught with the first rudiments of learning, and of which no person living in a Christian country can be supposed wholly ignorant; these they mistake for the pure natural conceptions of their own minds, and ascribe to reason, and the light of nature, that very knowledge of divine things which they have derived from the gospel of Christ, and which they yet set up in opposition to it. But is it right and reasonable to treat in such a disingenuous manner the religion of him, who came to be, and actually proved himself to be the light, and life of the world? "Ought the withered hand, which Christ has restored and made whole, to be lifted up against him?—Or should the dumb man's tongue, just loosened from the bonds of silence, blaspheme the power that set it free?"† Yet thus basely do these men act, who employ the knowledge which they have from scripture, against scripture itself, and make use of their religion of nature, as an engine to batter down the religion of Christ.

* See this subject farther pursued and illustrated in an excellent little tract, called, *A few plain Reasons why we should believe in Christ, and adhere to his Religion.* By Richard Cumberland, Esq. London, 1801.

† See Bishop Sherlock's Discourses on this subject.

But little do these men consider what it really is, which, under the name of *Natural Religion*, they thus fondly admire, as such a powerful weapon in the hands of infidelity: Little indeed do they seem to know of the true state of that nature from which they would derive this imaginary religion. For how can that system of religion be called *natural*, which was never yet discovered by any of the sons of men, while left to themselves in a state of *nature*, without a guide or instructor? Or if it could have been discovered by men thus uninstructed and untutored, yet how could such a religion be suited to man in his present state, which takes no notice of any change that has happened to him, but supposes him to be still in that pure, holy and happy condition, in which he came originally from the hands of a pure and holy God, and, therefore, capable of performing such a worship and service as that God requires, and will accept from an innocent, unoffending creature? No proposition, I think, can be more clear and evident than this; that *Natural Religion*, if it has any meaning at all, must mean that religion which is fitted for, and peculiar to the *present* state of man's *nature*, as something very different from that, in which he first received his being. But how can that be deemed a religion at all calculated for man in his present state, which leaves out of the account the doctrines of his *fall* and his *restoration*; which never tells, nor can tell him, how he died in Adam, and was and will be made alive again in Christ? That "in Adam all died," and in consequence of the mortal nature received from their first parent, all his posterity are liable to death, is a truth no less confirmed by experience, than plainly declared in holy writ. But the cause, as well as the sting, of death is sin; and how sin can be pardoned, and its effects removed from the sinner, no light of nature has ever been able to show, nor give any glimpse of hope, but what may arise from the dark, uncertain prospect afforded by repentance; of which it can only be said, "who can tell

if God will accept it?" God alone could tell the terms on which "repentance and remission of sins were to be preached among all nations; and it behoved Christ to suffer, and to rise from the dead the third day,"* that *in his name*, the promise of this universal blessing might be authoritatively declared by those commissioned for that purpose: "For in him," says one of these authorized preachers, "all the promises of God are yea, and in him amen;"† in him they are all made sure to us, and by him are truly and effectually accomplished.

But "remission of sins" is not of itself sufficient to fill up the measure of divine mercy promised to man in his blessed Redeemer, and which the light of nature could never have exhibited to the eye of faith: "there is still," as an eminent writer beautifully expresses it, "something farther that *nature* craves, something which with unutterable groans she pants after, even life and happiness for evermore. She sees all her children go down to the grave; and all beyond the grave is to her one wide waste, a land of doubt and uncertainty: when she looks into it, she has her hopes, and she has her fears; and agitated by the vicissitude of these passions, she finds no ground whereon to rest her foot. How different is the scene which the gospel opens! there we see the heavenly Canaan, the new Jerusalem; in which city of the great God, there are mansions, many mansions for receiving them, who through faith, and patient continuance in well-doing, seek for glory and immortality."‡ How properly, then, may we join in the words which an apostle addressed to his Saviour, "Lord, to whom shall we go? Thou hast the words of eternal life."‖ Thou hast exhibited in thine own person a clear undeniable proof, that "life and immortality are now

* St. Luke xxiv. 46, 47.

† 2 Cor. i. 20.

‡ See Bishop Sherlock's Discourse on St. John iii. 16.

‖ St. John vi. 68.

brought to light," and therefore need not be sought in the dark uncertain guesses of human reason, which may serve well enough in the affairs of this life, and in pointing out some of the common duties between man and man; but when it exceeds its bounds, and presumes to meddle with the deep things of God, and to dictate in the great points of religion, its weakness and insufficiency do then manifestly appear. It is but "the blind leading the blind," and will sooner betray us into error and danger, than deliver us out of them. Shall we then quit the glorious light displayed in the gospel of Christ, to follow the faint and feeble glimmering of natural reason? Shall we seek for clearness in the midst of obscurity, or hope to meet with truth in the labyrinths of error and uncertainty? Thou blessed Saviour of the world! If we leave thee, to whom shall we go? Where shall we find a guide like thee, a conductor so kind, so compassionate, so infinitely wise, so divinely merciful? "Thou light of the Gentiles and glory of Israel!" How great must be the blindness and infatuation of those who, refusing to be guided by the radiant beams of thy heavenly doctrine, walk on in the false and treacherous ways of their own devising, and neither discern, nor desire to know the truth? What egregious folly, as well as base ingratitude is it, thus to spurn at all the gracious designs of heaven, and seek to fall back into the miserable gulfs of heathen ignorance and idolatry; there to lie lost and bewildered by the light of that reason which we have now been viewing, as set up through all its weakness and wanderings, in opposition to divine revelation!

Reason, we acknowledge, is the gift of God to man;* and had it always been employed, as it ought to have been, in the service, and for the honour of the Giver, it would have proved what it was designed to be, an able advocate

* See Mr. Daubeny's excellent reasoning on this subject, in the first discourse of his work above mentioned.

for the truth of *revealed* religion; which, it is evident from that common mark of distinction, could not have been known, till it was *revealed* or discovered by its gracious Author.*—Yet human reason would be muttering against this divine truth, and holding up some semblance of religion as natural to man, which, therefore, it was not requisite for God to reveal; the discovery of which we shall allow to be a *natural* enough consequence of the pride and vanity of the human heart.—But the misfortune is, that this specious theory happens to be directly contrary to matter of fact: For if there be any truth in revelation, which those who talk so much of the connection between natural and revealed religion seem to acknowledge; nothing is more certain than that God spake, or revealed his will to Adam in Paradise, and that too, as soon as he was created; a circumstance which cuts off all right of precedence in any other mode of discovery, and leaves no room for that imaginary system of human invention—the religion of nature. Yet no sooner had revelation thus commenced in Paradise, than we are immediately informed of that ambitious desire of obtaining knowledge by other means, which proved so fatal to our first parents. "Ye shall be as Gods, knowing good and evil," was the temptation which took hold of the human understanding upon its first perversion; and the success which the tempter gained on that occasion, has encouraged him to go on with a continued repetition of that same confident assurance; which, by setting up the reason of man in opposition to the word of his Maker, laid the foundation for infidelity, in all that variety of forms in which it has since appeared, through the several ages and nations of the world.

The whole train of opinions that attend what is com-

* It has been well observed, that *right reason*, as expressed in Latin by *Ratio recta*, must mean reason *ruled*, or directed by a law, that is, by the law or will of God.

monly called *Freethinking*, will be found to flow from some unworthy notion, or settled contempt of divine revelation, grounded on this false principle, that man's own understanding must be a sufficient guide to him in all matters of religious concern.—According to this assumption of the Freethinkers, as the human mind is capable of advancing by progressive information, to higher degrees of knowledge, there is nothing to prevent our carrying on the improvement of religion by the same means, till it be brought to its utmost degree of perfection. This is placing religion on the same footing with those arts and sciences, the study of which opens a wide field for speculation, and is daily leading to new discoveries, calculated to improve the condition of man in this world, and produced by the exertion of those natural faculties with which God was pleased to furnish him. But religion has a different object in view, and points the attention of man to matters of infinitely greater importance. It invites him to look forward to a future state of existence, and provides the means by which he may be prepared for the enjoyment of everlasting happiness. The knowledge and application of these means, accompanied with a firm belief of the end to which they lead, make up the great business of religion; which, it is evident, man was wholly unable to carry on by himself, without immediate instruction and assistance from his Maker.—This necessary aid was afforded, as soon as he was created; and has been continued in various ways, as circumstances required, but with a constant attention to the accomplishment of that gracious object which the Deity had in view, by communicating the knowledge of his will to man. Every such communication tended more and more to comfirm his dependance on God's everlasting purpose; and that scheme of mercy, which had been projected in the councils of heaven, and partially revealed from time to time, was thus seen advancing through all its successive stages, till it arrived at that fulness of time, which had

been appointed for its complete manifestation in the personal ministry of God's incarnate Son.

Such has been the uniform purpose, and continued progress of divine revelation, from its commencement in Paradise, to its final termination in the gospel of Christ. Nothing then can be more certain than this obvious consequence, that religion thus coming from God, and founded on the clear revelation of his will to man, must be considered in itself as a perfect institution, and incapable of receiving any improvement from the utmost efforts of human intellect. Men may talk as they please, of the progress of arts and sciences; these, as human inventions, will always be susceptible of some degree of improvement, in proportion to the weakness, and want of skill displayed by their several authors: But nothing can be more absurd, than to speak of a progressive religion; which, as the work of God, can never receive any additional excellence from the wit or contrivance of men. If it has been abused and perverted by human folly, a just regard to its original institution requires that it should be rescued from these abuses, and brought back to its primitive standard. But every attempt at such necessary reformation ought to have its object distinctly ascertained, and be directed to the proper measures for obtaining the removal of those corruptions, which have given rise to it. Without some such direction to a specific point, and a well regulated adherence to fundamental truths, a boundless field of speculation will be laid open, and one theory will follow another in such endless succession, as to leave those who are thus seduced from the right way, in the perilous condition described by the apostle, "ever learning, and never able to come to the knowledge of the truth."*

"The conceit of superior learning," says a venerable author, "has always had an ill effect upon Christianity,

* 2 Tim. iii. 7.

and is frequently found in those who have no great matters to value themselves upon. We may be as learned as we can make ourselves, and yet continue good Christians; because true learning, and true religion, were never yet at variance; but the moment we are vain of our learning, we begin to be in danger, and some folly or other is not far off."* So careful was the author of this pious observation to guard us against that vain pretension to learning, which makes some men affect to be wise in matters of religion, "above what is written;" while, at the same time, he was equally careful to withhold every encouragement from that enthusiastic notion, so fondly cherished by others of a different description, who imagine themselves sure of salvation, for no other reason, but because they are ignorant and unlearned. Both these extremes must be equally avoided; and there cannot be much difficulty in drawing the line between that proud display of learning, which looks down with contempt on the simplicity of the gospel, and the no less presumptuous ignorance, which foolishly regards all its inward feelings and imaginary assurance, as certain proofs of a saving faith, though unaccompanied with any true knowledge of the ground on which that faith is built.

* And none more near at hand, than what the same author had been just before describing. For "how often," says he, "has it been urged, that we ought not to receive the faith, which the first fathers of the church, and the succeeding fathers of the reformation, have delivered to us, because we are of late years so far advanced above them in knowledge? But I have never seen the connection pointed out between any modern improvement in science, and the new doctrines of reformers in theology. We are certainly much improved, for instance, in the art of making time-keepers, above those who lived an hundred years ago; but no man will say, that we thence derive any advantage for numbering our days more wisely, or that we have any clearer ideas of eternity, than we had before. An eminent artist in this way may doubt of the Apostles' Creed; but then, there is no visible relation between his art, and his unbelief." See Bishop Horne's Charge to the Clergy of the Diocese of Norwich, 1792.

Being thus convinced, that there is no necessary connection between the doctrines of Christianity, and the discoveries which from time to time have been made in various branches of science, and therefore no wisdom or safety in attempting to place subjects under the same point of view, which are as widely separated from each other, as earth from heaven; we cannot but readily embrace this unavoidable consequence, and cherish it as a most valuable and important truth, that the religion of Christ is not a thing to be new-modelled and improved, in hopes of bringing it to a greater degree of perfection. It cannot put on those various modes and shapes, which are suited to the fashions and fancies of the times, but must always be expected to appear in an uniform dress, and to wear the character of its divine Author, that of being "the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever." Because his apostles, and their successors, have been called ministers of the *New* Testament, we are not to suppose that their ministry consists in always delivering something that is *new*, or different from what has been said before; since the faith for which we are exhorted "earnestly to contend, was but *once* delivered to the saints," and therefore what was the whole faith then, must continue to be so still; nothing must be added to it, or taken from it. Perhaps there never was a time which required so much steady attention to this matter as the present; when an itch for novelty seems to prevail, beyond any thing of the kind that has been hitherto observed. Every age, no doubt, has had that common failing of imagining itself to be wiser than any that preceded it. But the wisdom of this age pretends to carry the point much farther than ever was attempted before; and nothing more is necessary now to set aside the most venerable truths, and institutions of religion, than merly to say, that they are old and obsolete, and founded on such antiquated notions, as are totally inconsistent with that more just and liberal view of things, which is the pride of this enlightened age. Thus

are mankind led away by the mere force of fashion, and bullied out of their religion, out of every thing that is valuable and good, by a few bold unmeaning words, which serve only to show the folly and confidence of those that use them. Such persons, we may observe, are ever on the wing of speculation, devising new theories both of sacred and civil government; and when any disagreeable truth stands in their way, they have only to hold it up, as an exploded doctrine,—a remnant of that hateful thing called *Priestcraft;* which immediately does the business, and saves the trouble of any farther reasoning on the subject.

These are the errors and delusions with which all sound and sincere Christians have to contend, and to carry on the contest in that *earnest* manner, which an Apostle so warmly recommends;* a contest, which it was never more necessary than at present, to urge with fervour, and prosecute with zeal and firmness—a zeal proportionate to the danger to which the true faith of Christ is now exposed, both from the bold attempts of avowed enemies, and the insidious aid of pretended friends, appearing outwardly to support, but secretly undermining the foundation of that authority, on which rests our belief of the Christian doctrine. In defence of that doctrine, the credibility of which is so openly attacked by infidelity on the one hand, and its purity no less endangered by enthusiasm on the other, we must therefore strive to arm ourselves with such weapons as are best calculated for repelling the assault made on it, and the injury done to it, by each of these powerful, but, we trust, not invincible adversaries. From the manner in which the apostle exhorts us to pursue this arduous contest, it is evident, that by the *faith once* for all *delivered* to the saints, we are to understand, not an inward conviction of the truth of the Christian doctrine, or that *assurance* of faith, which some modern preachers boast of, as the peculiar privilege

* St. Jude, 3.

of *their* saints, but something that could be *delivered* in an outward and public manner, could be read, or heard like the "*form of sound words*" mentioned by St. Paul, which Timothy was directed to "*hold fast;*"* that so he might *hand* it down to the Christian church, as a model of what was to be professed and believed in that church, to the end of the world. Accordingly it is by such a summary of the Christian faith that the church to which we belong continues, and, I trust, will continue, to profess her belief in the adorable THREE who subsist, with equal power, majesty and eternity, in the unity of the Godhead, and bear record in heaven to the merciful scheme of man's salvation. By such a concise and well-composed *form* of sound words, we are taught to ascribe our creation to "the Father Almighty," our redemption to "his only Son Jesus Christ our Lord," and our sanctification to "the Holy Ghost;" adding also our faith in "one holy, catholic church," that mystical body, of which Christ is the glorious Head, and in which is enjoyed "the communion of saints," blessed with the promise of "forgiveness of sins" in this world, and of the "resurrection from the dead, and everlasting life" in the world to come. This is undoubtedly the faith which Christ established in his church, and which he authorized his apostles to deliver from him, as a sacred privilege or blessing to his people, to be received and preserved as such, whole and entire, till he should come again to give a "crown of righteousness," to all them who shall thus "have *kept* the faith, and love his appearing."

For the preservation, therefore, of such a blessing, the sum and substance of all the good things which Christ has made over to his church, and in the hope of that glorious reward which he has promised to such fidelity, it is surely the interest, as much as the duty of all Christians, to contend in the most earnest manner; and they cannot do so

* 2 Tim. i. 13.

more effectually, than by holding out the end and object of their faith in the same uniform light, in which it has ever been represented, as the effect of that divine immutable counsel, which admits of no change or variation, and so makes the volume of revelation speak a clear, consistent language from beginning to end. It begins with the creation of the world, and the formation of man; and it ends with the last judgment, and consummation of all things; and through the whole period described in the Old Testament, we see a regular chain and series of well-connected events, all leading on to the incarnation of the promised Redeemer, and directing the attention of God's faithful people to that great mystery of godliness, God manifested in the flesh. It was to this mysterious accomplishment of the Divine counsel, that the law and the prophets looked forward; and what was so long shadowed out in their typical rites, and figurative language, was at last most happily exhibited in all its substance, under the dispensation of the gospel; which is, therefore, to be considered as fulfilling the law, just as the law was predicting the gospel, and both are to be viewed as constituting one beautiful and consistent scheme of salvation.

It is by adhering to this unity of design, and placing things in their proper form and order, that the faith of a Christian is built on such a firm and solid foundation, as man cannot lay; but which was graciously laid for him in the will and counsel of his God before the world began, and gradually manifested in all the outlines of the marvellous plan, according to the wisdom of its Almighty contriver. When things are thus traced back to their proper source, we can easily perceive the instructive design of those sacred emblems, under which the knowledge of God's merciful purpose, and good will towards men, is so beautifully conveyed to us: And it is in this view that we are taught to behold the ancient patriarchs, prophets, priests and kings, as typical characters, and their several offices, and the more

remarkable passages of their lives, as fore-showing him, who was to arise, as the Head of the holy family, the great Prophet, the true Priest, the everlasting King.* Thus the events which happened to the ancient people of God, were designed to point out, as in a figure, parallel occurrences, which should afterwards take place in the accomplishment of man's redemption, and the rise and progress of the Christian church: and as we are to view in the same light the various provocations and punishments, captivities and restorations of the tribes of Israel, which we are assured "happened unto them for ensamples," "types or figures," and were written for our admonition; so we are to understand in the same figurative sense, what is said of the law, and its ceremonies; of the tabernacle and temple, with the services therein performed, and of the whole economy of the priesthood of Aaron. All this the well-instructed Christian will easily transfer to the new law of the gospel, to the oblation of Christ, to the true tabernacle or temple not made with hands, and to what was done therein for the salvation of the world, by him, who was in one respect a sacrifice, in another a temple, and in a third a "High Priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek;" after a certain order, form, or regulation, which was to be the rule and model of the Christian priesthood for ever.

That the Christian church was to have a priesthood, duly and regularly ordered, according to a form appointed for

* See this subject admirably illustrated in the preface to Bishop Horne's excellent *Commentary on the Book of Psalms*, which his biographer justly calls the greatest work of his life, and of which the author himself gave this account, soon after it was begun: "The work delights me greatly, and seems, so far as I can judge of my own turn and talents, to suit me the best of any I can think of. May he who hath the *Key of David*, prosper it in my hand, granting me the knowledge and utterance necessary to make it serviceable to the church!" Let any person of judgment peruse the work, and he will see how well the author has succeeded, and kept up the spirit of it to the end.

that purpose, is abundantly evident from the whole of St. Paul's reasoning on this subject, in his Epistle to the Hebrews; in which the figurative economy of the law is represented as brought to perfection under the gospel, and the service of the temple as furnishing a typical resemblance of that of the Christian church. If the faithful Jews were allowed to draw near to God, through the appointed ministrations of the tabernacle; "we have any altar," says the apostle, "from which they had no right to eat, while they still adhered to that unavailing service:" And if as Christians, we have an *altar*, we must also have a *priesthood* to minister at the altar; for these are correlative terms; and St. Paul certainly considered them as such, when he was at so much pains to point out the analogy in this respect between the law and the gospel, and laid it down as a settled rule, that "no man ever taketh this honour" (of the priesthood) "unto himself," or can ever receive it, but from the hands of those who have power to give it, "those that are called of God as was Aaron." The apostle, it is evident, meant to show, that the Christian and Jewish churches were not two different dispensations, as to their original plan and purpose, but a continuation of the one church of God, and one Divine economy for the salvation of man: And things were thus regularly ordained and uniformly carried on, because it is of infinite importance to man, that he should always be able to know, if he will but diligently inquire, where, and with whom he is to find the commission, which has been faithfully handed down to those who are appointed to minister in holy things.* If ever

* See this matter, and others of similar importance, recommended to the attention which they justly deserve, in a small tract, lately published, called a "*Layman's Account of his Faith and Practice, as a Member of the Episcopal Church in Scotland,*" and of which the *British Critic*, for December, 1801, says—"The principles which the author labours to establish, are certainly sound, his reasoning is cogent without subtlety, and his piety serious without moroseness."

such an appointment took place, and we are well assured it did take place by Divine authority, it must certainly be continued, and carried on, to answer the end designed by it: And how can it possibly be continued in a right and regular manner, but by keeping it within the lines marked out for its preservation, and in the proper channel, through which it may pass on to future ages; just "as a river, whilst confined within its banks, flows on full and far in its destined course; but if its mounds are broken down, and its waters scattered and diffused beyond their natural limits, it ceases to be a river, it loses its force, its beauty and usefulness, and becomes unable to reach the distant ocean, to which its course was directed."* Such must have been the case with the Christian ministry, had no limitation been prescribed, no exclusive rights assigned to it, and no provision made for transmitting these from the fountain-head, through streams of regular succession, to the end of the world. But as all this has been happily attended to, by the wisdom of our blessed Redeemer, it follows of course, that this part of the gracious scheme of redemption must be strictly adhered to by us; no attempt must be made to "add to, or diminish from it." The *means* of grace, the *channels* of communication, through which the benefits of the gospel are conveyed to those who are called to partake of them, must be preserved whole and entire, without any breach or interruption, as the current of revelation itself; otherwise, the people of God may be accused now, as they were formerly, of "committing two evils—forsaking the fountain of living waters, and hewing out to themselves cisterns, broken cisterns that can hold no water."† In our Lord's conversation with the woman of Samaria at Jacob's well, the same figurative language is made use of, to show

* See a Sermon, entitled, "A due Ordination as necessary as a due Call to the Gospel Priesthood." By the Rev. C. C. Church, rector of Gosforth, and minister of Trinity, Whitehaven.

† Jer. ii. 13.

that Christ being the only fountain of "living waters,"* there is no other way of partaking of this life-giving spring, but by the means which he has appointed for imparting to us its salutary virtue: and for preserving it pure and entire, having hewn us out a cistern, even his church upon earth, he is said to have given "this treasure in *earthen vessels*, that the excellency of the power may be of God, and not of us."† In conformity to which, he tells Ananias concerning the appointment of St. Paul to the ministry—"Go thy way, for he is a *chosen vessel* unto me, to bear my name before the Gentiles, and kings, and the children of Israel;"‡ just as the same Lord had shown the necessity of his making a similar choice for the same purpose, when he thus addressed his apostles: "Ye have not *chosen* me, but I have *chosen* you, and ordained you, that you should go, and bring forth fruit, and that your fruit should *remain*."§ But the fruit or effect of their apostolic commission could not have long *remained*, far less could that commission have extended "even unto the end of the world," if it had not been understood and exercised by them to this effect, that as they themselves were *chosen* and *sent*, so were they appointed to *choose* and *send* others, with the same ordinary powers which they had received, for carrying on the work of the ministry, and the continued edifying of the body of Christ.

It would be deemed a very bold and desperate attempt to think of altering the circulation of the blood through the human body, and turning it into new channels: Yet even this hopeless undertaking could not exceed that height of folly and presumption, which would propose to divert the progress of divine grace from the channels appointed for conveying it through the mystical body of Christ; or give it a course different from that, which the God of all grace

* St. John iv. 10—14.
† 2 Cor. iv. 7.
‡ Acts ix. 15.
§ St. John xv. 16.

has ordained for it. In all societies, even in those which have only the affairs of this world for their object, we find that certain regulations must be adopted for preserving peace and order, and securing to the several members the enjoyment of their peculiar rights and privileges, with all the benefits and advantages that are connected with the purpose for which the society has been formed, and which are expected to arise from it. Such is the case in all those bodies politic, or temporal societies, which, for the convenience of those concerned in them, are established on just principles, and supported by the lawful efforts of human industry. And such, we find, has always been the case, with respect to that ecclesiastical body, or spiritual society, instituted by divine wisdom, for the merciful purpose of communicating to those who are received into it, the means of grace here, and the hopes of glory hereafter. From the manner in which it embraces these two grand and important objects, it is evident that the economy of this spiritual society must have a two-fold application, and be considered as partly concerned with the outward, partly with the inward man.

The human frame, we know, consists of two parts, a body and a soul; and hence it is, that an inspired apostle draws a most beautiful allusion, representing the unity of the church of Christ, as being one body, animated and influenced by one spirit. But if the church be designed to comprehend the whole man, and to hold out the means of sanctifying and saving both soul and body, and preserving both unto everlasting life; to answer this gracious purpose, it must be so constituted as to exhibit outward and visible signs suited to the sensations of the body, and convey an inward and spiritual grace adapted to the necessities of the soul.—The institutions appointed for that purpose, are, therefore, very properly called *Mysteries*, as exhibiting one thing to the outward senses, and by that sacramental emblem, disclosing another thing spiritually to the mind.

They are the mysterious means, which God has ordained, under the economy of the gospel, for communicating salvation and life to man: And for that reason, when St. Paul wished to point out the nature of his ministry, as "serving God in that gospel," and the regard which was due to his sacred office, he did it in these terms,—"Let a man so account of us, as ministers of Christ, and stewards of the mysteries of God;"* thereby plainly showing, that none but the "ministers of Christ," persons set apart for the service of the church in the way of his appointment, have a right to be considered as "stewards of the mysteries of God," duly authorized to dispense that spiritual food and nourishment, which the heavenly Householder has so graciously provided for the support and comfort of his happy family.

It was, no doubt, in allusion to this merciful provision, that we find our Lord asking—"Who then is that faithful and wise steward, whom his *Lord shall make* ruler over his household, to give them their portion of meat in due season?"† By the household here, we are certainly to understand the church of Christ, which is often distinguished as "the household of faith—the house, or household of God:" And as Christ is by office, and in a peculiar manner, the Lord of this household, so the rulers of it are those officers who act under him, as the governors and pastors of his church, and who, it seems, must be *made such* by him, that is, made "ministers of Christ,"—as he has directed, before they can become "stewards of the mysteries of God." This, we know, is the case in all well-regulated households. Those who act as stewards are appointed, not by the family, but by the Lord or Master of the family, and are accountable, not to them, but to him, for giving them their meat in due season. The meat which the church is to receive from its rulers and stewards, is the

* 1 Cor. iv. 1. † St. Luke xii. 42.

word of life, or the means of grace and salvation, which are called "God's mysteries;" being that mystical provision which he has laid up in store, to be regularly dealt out, for the spiritual health and strength of his faithful people. Who then can have any power to distribute his provision but those to whom he has given authority for that purpose? Who can pretend to meddle with the "mysteries of God," or to administer the blessings of his holy and venerable sacraments, without a sufficient warrant for so doing? Nothing can be more evident, from the nature of the thing, than that they who are called God's stewards, must have his commission and authority for what they do, in their several services to his people. And St. Paul puts the matter beyond all doubt, when he tells us, that "God has actually *set*," or constituted officers, and these too of different orders, in the church;* which we may know to be done by him, when we see it done in the manner prescribed by that Almighty King and Head of the church, who has all power in heaven and in earth, and from whom all ecclesiastical authority must be derived. Every ministry, therefore, that does not lead up to him, through his apostles and their successors, is but a bold intrusion into the sacred office; an unwarrantable usurpation of those rights, which he made over to his appointed messengers, when "he sent them, even as the Father had sent him," with power to do as he had done, and perpetuate the ministerial order, according to the dispensation of the gospel, in the same manner as he had begun it. This is the only way in which it can be regularly carried forward, on the plan laid down by its gracious Founder; and with respect to which plan, we may truly say, as of all the other parts of his holy religion, that what it was "yesterday," and is "to-day," the same it must continue "for ever;"—nothing must be "added to it, or taken from it."

* 1 Cor. xii. 28.

There are some, however, even of the Christian profession, who do not admit the truth of this position; and we are not ignorant of the arguments, such as they are, on which their rejection of it is founded.—"It cannot be proved," they say, "that any plan or form of ecclesiastical government was laid down in the Christian church, or that any command was given by Christ for that purpose. And even admitting, that something like Episcopacy was appointed by the apostles," still they insist, that "such an appointment could only take place, in consequence of the particular circumstances of the church at that time, and without any view to its being a permanent establishment; because no precise constitution could be framed, which would suit the church in its necessary accommodation to the different arrangements of civil policy, or be equally agreeable to the various nations, which might embrace the Christian faith." Such reasoning as this, if supported by any thing like proof, might, no doubt, be acknowledged to have some weight, were it not also certain, that the constitution of the church, the authority of her ministers, and the validity of her sacraments, are all inseparably connected, as matters of the greatest importance in the Christian scheme of salvation, and must be esteemed as such by all who have a just sense of the high origin, and inestimable value of the gospel of Christ. To those who consider the religion of our adorable Redeemer, as nothing more than a republication of what they call the Religion of Nature, it must, to be sure, appear very absurd and ridiculous, to be inquiring into, or disputing about, the external polity or government of the church; since in their opinion the only thing necessary, is to find out how far the precepts of the gospel agree with the moral fitness of things, and are supported by the law or feelings of nature, and the deductions of human reason. But surely they who regard Christianity as a religion of divine institution; who believe, that its gracious Author came into the world to save sinners, and

that "his name is the only name under heaven whereby they can be saved;" that his sacraments of baptism, and the eucharist, are the appointed means of uniting us to him, and preserving us in that union, and derive all their efficacy and importance from his blessing and sanctification of them: Such persons cannot possibly think it a matter of indifference, whether the hand from which they receive these sacraments, be the hand of an administrator, who derives his authority from Christ, and is empowered to bless in his name, or the hand of one who has nothing of that kind but what he has taken to himself, or received from those, who had as little power as he, to grant any such call or commission.

But to consider the validity of the Christian sacraments, and the authority of those who administer them, as matters of such high importance, we have been told by a late popular writer,* "is placing the essence of religion, not in any thing interior and spiritual, not in what Christ and his apostles placed it, something personal in regard to the disciple, and what is emphatically styled in scripture, *the hidden man of the heart;* but in an exterior circumstance, a circumstance which, in regard to him, is merely accidental, a circumstance of which it may be impossible for him to be apprized." And so, we may say, may "his belief and obedience of the gospel," be merely accidental, and depending on the circumstance of his being born and educated in a Christian country, yet not the less acceptable to God, or beneficial to himself, on that account. But the author of the work to which I am now alluding, calls it "an absurdity to make the truth of God's promises depend on circumstantials;" and to him "nothing is more evident, than that the essence of Christianity, abstractedly considered, consists in the system of doctrines and duties

* See *Lectures on Ecclesiastical History*, by George Campbell, D. D. Principal of Marischal College, Aberdeen. Vol. i. p. 86, &c.

revealed by our Lord Jesus Christ, and that the essence of the Christian character consists in the belief of the one, and the obedience of the other." Although we acknowledge, in general, the truth of this observation, we cannot see much propriety, or any advantage arising to religion, in thus splitting it into *essentials* and *circumstantials*, for the sake of weighing the one against the other; because there is much danger of not making a proper division: and so by mistaking the nature of what is *essential*, and what *circumstantial*, we may throw into the one scale what should be placed in the other, and thereby make a separation of what God has been pleased to join together for our comfort and instruction. It was, therefore, well observed by a learned and ingenious author,* that "as it is one of the peculiar weaknesses of human nature, when, upon a comparison of two things, one is found to be of greater importance than the other, to consider this other as of scarce any importance at all; it is highly necessary, that we remind ourselves, how great presumption it is, to make light of any institutions of divine appointment; that our obligations to obey all God's commands whatever are absolute and indispensable; and that commands merely positive, admitted to be from him, lay us under a moral obligation to obey him—an obligation moral in the strictest and most proper sense."

Hence it would appear, that there is not so much ground as is generally imagined for the common distinction of *moral* and *positive* duties; which, being both alike founded in the will and revelation of God, must be equally binding on man, and can admit of no other variety of obligation on our part, than what is determined by our Lord's own decision of this matter—"These ought ye to have done, and

* Bishop Butler, in his *Analogy*, &c. p. 193, of the fifth edition—a work which contains much elaborate reasoning in favour of *revelation*, yet surely ascribes by far too much consequence to its pretended rival, the light or religion of *nature*.

not to leave the other undone."* If we see sufficient reason to embrace the religion of Christ, as the only ground on which we can hope for salvation and happiness, we must also be convinced, that, in order to promote that important end, it must be received whole and entire; as a combined "system of doctrines and duties," requiring our "belief of the one, and obedience of the other," without any other reference to our judgment and discretion, than what is necessary for our discovering, that these "doctrines and duties were revealed by our Lord Jesus Christ," either immediately while he sojourned on earth, or after his ascension into heaven, by means of the Holy Spirit, who was "to guide his apostles into all truth."

So far then we are agreed with the learned *Lecturer* on *Ecclesiastical History*, whose words I have now quoted, though we shall afterwards have frequent occasion to differ from him. In his subsequent description of what he deemed to be the "essence of Christianity," we think, he ought to have mentioned, what he could not but know, that a part of the "system of duties," revealed by the Holy Spirit to our Lord's apostles, and expressly enjoined by one of them, was obedience and submission to those who have a right to "guide or rule over us, and to watch for our souls:"† And as it is impossible that such a right as this can be possessed by any man, or order of men, who have not derived it from the great Shepherd and Bishop of souls, in the way that he appointed for the transmission of it, we cannot but consider it as a matter of the highest importance to ascertain, as far as we are able, in what form of church government this right was originally invested, because to that government alone can such obedience and submission be due.

On this point, our *Ecclesiastical Lecturer* is obliged to allow—"that a *certain external model* of government must have been originally adopted for the more effectual preser-

* St. Mat. xxiii. 23. † Heb. xiii. 17.

vation of the evangelical institution in its native purity, and for the careful transmission of it to after ages."* And when there were such strong reasons for the original adoption of a "certain external model of government," it may well be presumed, that the apostles, supposing them to have been only possessed of common judgment, without the benefit of inspiration, could not fail, as governors of the church, to take the most effectual steps for the future establishment of what was so necessary to be adopted. Nay, so much was even Dr. Campbell convinced of the necessity of such an apostolic institution of government, that he pronounces "any presumptuous encroachment on what is evidently so instituted, to be justly reprehensible in those who are properly chargeable with such encroachment, as is indeed any violation of order, and more especially when the violation tends to wound charity, and to promote division and strife." Happy had it been for the church in this kingdom, if what is here observed had been duly attended to by those from whom the author of this just remark derived his ministry.—Yet, as if afraid that he had gone too far in censuring such presumptuous encroachment as justly reprehensible, he immediately adds—"But the reprehension can affect those only who are conscious of the guilt; for the fault of another will never frustrate to me the divine promise given by the Messiah, the great Interpreter of the Father, the faithful and true Witness to all indiscriminately, without any limitation, that he who receiveth his testimony hath everlasting life."

There is a sense, in which part of this reasoning may be received as well-founded; but we cannot so easily perceive the connection, by which the following conclusion is drawn from it. "I may be deceived," says the author, "in regard to the pretensions of a minister, who may be the usurper of a character to which he has no right. I am,

* Vol. i. p. 87.

no antiquary, and may not have either the knowledge, or the capacity necessary for tracing the faint outlines of ancient establishments, and forms of government, for entering into dark and critical questions about the import of names and titles, or for examining the authenticity of endless genealogies; but I may have all the evidence that *consciousness* can give, that I thankfully receive the testimony of Christ, whom I believe, and love, and serve."*

But surely this all-sufficient *consciousness* must arise from some source or other: and where there is a want of the "knowledge or capacity necessary" for such inquiries as are here alluded to, there must be an implicit reliance on the skill and fidelity of those teachers or spiritual guides, who ought to serve as "eyes to the blind, and feet to the lame," who seem to be particularly pointed out for that purpose in the authoritative direction delivered to God's people in these words—"Thus saith the Lord, stand ye in the ways, and see, and ask for the old paths, where is the good way, and walk therein, and ye shall find rest for your souls."† There were many, no doubt, in the days of Jeremiah, who might have availed themselves of this plea, that "they were no antiquaries, and had neither the knowledge nor capacity that was necessary" for such laborious and useless investigation. Yet the command is general, and sufficient instruction given how to proceed in discharging the duty enjoined. There is a "good way" pointed out for walking in, among the "old paths," which are to be found out by "asking," with earnestness and circumspection.—"Stand ye in the ways, and *see*, and *ask* for the old paths."—"Asking" implies some person or thing, of whom inquiry may be made; as where the children of Israel were commanded to "ask their fathers," and to "ask of the days that were past," for such information as was necessary for directing their conduct. The same instructive information

* Vol. i. p. 88. † Jer. vi. 16.

may still be obtained, if we are at due pains to apply for it, and do not trust too much to that inward "consciousness," which often promises rest to the soul, without the trouble of any outward inquiry about "coming" to that Saviour, in the way and manner which he has prescribed, who alone can bestow this inestimable blessing, and "give rest to the soul that is weary and heavy laden."*

Having, therefore, already considered his holy religion, the only way in which we can "come to him" for spiritual rest and comfort, as, like himself—"the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever;" and being, I hope, well convinced, that it ought to be received and embraced, just as it is represented and held out in the scriptures of truth, without "adding thereto, or diminishing from it," we shall now proceed, in consequence of what has been said, to establish another no less evident and important fact, which shall be the subject of the following chapter.

* St. Matt. xi. 29.

CHAPTER II.

The Church of Christ, in which his Religion is received and embraced, is that spiritual Society, in which the Ministration of holy Things is committed to the three distinct Orders of Bishops, Priests and Deacons, deriving their Authority from the Apostles, as those Apostles received their Commission from Christ.

WHEN the converted Hebrews received this command from an inspired apostle—"Obey them that have the rule over you, and submit yourselves; for they watch for your souls;"* they were thereby put in mind, not only that they had souls to be "watched for," but also that the power or authority, which these *watching* rulers had over them, was of a spiritual nature, and such as had relation to that spiritual life, which, after being begun on earth, was intended to last for ever in heaven.—This single observation presents us with a just view of the difference between these two sorts of government, which have the things of earth, and the things of heaven for their several objects: A distinction which St. Paul, in another place, seems to point out as worthy of our notice, when he tells us, "the first man is of the earth, earthy; the second man is the Lord from heaven."† Our earthy man must, therefore, be ruled and directed by such means and instruments, that is, by such forms or modes of government, as are suited to the various situations of things on this earth; where we are placed for a while, as in a school of instruction, to fit and prepare us for a more pure and permanent state in that heaven, from which came the second man, the Lord,—the Almighty

* Heb. xiii. 17. † 1 Cor. xv. 47.

Restorer of our nature, to establish a government suited to the gracious design of his coming, and most admirably calculated to qualify and dispose his happy subjects for the possession of that unfading inheritance reserved for them in " his everlasting kingdom."

Looking forward, with prophetic eye, to the establishment of this spiritual kingdom, and to the solemn inauguration of its heavenly King, the inspired Psalmist might justly say of it; " This is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes."* The setting up a pure and spiritual kingdom in the midst of a carnal and wicked world, and in spite of all the opposition which the prince of this world could make to it; the founding this spiritual building on a rock, " against which the gates of hell should not prevail," was surely an astonishing exertion of divine power, and such as evidently showed the hand of that Almighty Lord, who can do what he pleaseth both in heaven and in earth.

The " doings" of men are sometimes a little " marvellous in our eyes," when we see them not only pulling down and destroying those venerable fabrics of civil government, which have stood for ages,—the pride of human policy,—but even attempting to subvert the foundation of that ecclesiastical system, which, resting on the solid ground of divine institution, is not to be altered or new-modelled, as the work of human device, or in conformity to the manners, the prejudices, or civil constitutions of the different nations, in which the Christian church has obtained a settlement. Here we cannot but observe a remarkable difference between the " doing of the Lord," and that of man, with regard to the nature of their respective works.—What the former does, is done at once, and produced in full perfection, according to the nature of the work, and the design which God has in view by producing it. It has therefore been justly observed, that " God never made his works for

* Psalm cxviii. 23.

man to mend;" nor does it become a poor, dependent, fallible creature, to interfere with, or pretend to alter, the appointments of the supreme, all-wise and good Creator. It is enough for man to reform and improve himself, to amend what is amiss in his own conduct, and correct those errors and mistakes, which experience will discover in the best and wisest plans of government that have ever been devised by human ingenuity. These, it seems, can only be brought to their admired perfection by slow and leisurely degrees. Even the boasted constitution of this country, which has been so often proposed as a pattern to the neighbouring nations, is well known to have been the gradual work of ages, the happy consequence of that progressive spirit of improvement, which can never be so properly exercised, as in contriving means to supply the defects of human foresight, and to secure to society the benefits arising from the accumulated experience of successive generations.

All this is very proper and necessary to be attended to, as far as we are concerned with the works and inventions of men, and obliged to show a due regard to the various schemes of human policy, which have been contrived, and established, for thus securing, as far as may be, the peace and good government of this world. But the temporal peace and prosperity of such a vain and transitory world, cannot surely be the only, nor the principal object, which man has to regard and attend to, considered as a candidate for eternal happiness in the kingdom of heaven. Viewing himself in this light, he cannot but see the necessity of cultivating a proper acquaintance with the laws and government of that kingdom, and of submitting to that course of probation and discipline which has been appointed for the church of Christ, while militant here on earth, to prepare it for that triumphant state, which it is at last to enjoy with its glorious Head in heaven.—When the pious well-disposed Christian sets himself to acquire a proper knowledge

of his duty in this respect; what a happy circumstance is it for him, that the nature and constitution of Christ's kingdom, as settled by himself, were fully declared, and made known to his apostles; those select officers, to whom the original commission was given, " to convert the nations, and teach them to observe all things whatsoever he had commanded them?" On this subject every necessary information may be derived from the doctrine and practice of these apostles, as handed down in the inspired writings of the New Testament, and explained and illustrated by the concurring testimony of the first and purest ages of the gospel; all which exhibit in the clearest light the foundation of the Christian church, the form of government established in it, and the manner in which it is to be supported by its Divine Founder, to the end of the world.

Our knowledge of all these circumstances points out the peculiar nature of that spiritual kingdom erected by Christ, and shows how widely it differs, even in its first erection, from the kingdoms of this world. Their constitutions and forms of government are perpetually changing. What one nation adopts, another rejects: What is admired in this age, perhaps will be reprobated in the next; because the mind of man is not capable of fixing to itself any certain standard for adjusting the merits of those numberless political theories, which are daily getting abroad into the world. But what was beyond the compass of human ability, has been accomplished by divine power and authority. The church or kingdom of God, as we have already observed, with respect to his holy religion in general, came good and perfect from his hands, and might well suffer, but could never be improved by the inventions of men. In tracing it to its purest source, the fountains of antiquity must be resorted to, otherwise we shall see but darkly into the troubled waters of latter times, which faction and party have been continually stirring, and thereby producing endless disorder and confusion. Such must always be the

case, when men attempt to form a religion, and a church for themselves, and are not satisfied with what God has provided for them.

We must, therefore, endeavour to make ourselves sufficiently acquainted with what the goodness of God in this respect has done for the children of men; and with the book of revelation in our hands, we shall be at no loss to discover how well the one part of the sacred volume agrees with the other, and both point to the same object under every dispensation; still representing the church or people of God as one body, actuated by one spirit, and established in one and the same faith and hope. Thus looking back, with a well-directed eye, to the state of the church, through its several progressive stages, from its first establishment in Paradise, and its confinement afterwards to one single family in the ark, we can trace its enlargement in the posterity of the chosen father of the faithful race, its wandering state in the wilderness, its settlement in the promised land, and all that happened to it, till the fulness of time came for the manifestation of its God and Redeemer, who was to put his finishing hand to the constitution of this spiritual society, and place it on a sure and immoveable foundation. Through the whole of this extended view, one striking circumstance must constantly arrest our attention; that under every dispensation of divine grace, some particular persons were set apart for performing the sacred rites of religion, and clothed with suitable authority for that purpose. The inspired history says but little of what is called the patriarchal economy. But even in the concise account which is given of that period, we see evident marks of the divine institution of sacrifice, as the most essential part of religious worship, and may thence justly infer that a priesthood also was instituted to minister in holy things; since there was the same reason for setting apart certain persons to represent *Christ* the *Priest*, as there was for constituting certain offerings to represent *Christ* the *Sacrifice*. For

maintaining this consistency, we have every reason to believe, that the right to minister was given to the first-born, as types of Him, who was to be "the First-born among many brethren;" and it was on account of Esau's despising and selling this right, that he was denominated "a profane person;"* one who had no just sense of God's appointment, or the regard which was due to sacred things; for which reason he was set aside from the office, and the honour of the priesthood was transferred to his brother Jacob.

When we come down to the establishment of the church under the Mosaic dispensation, we perceive its form and ministry, its authority and independence, displayed in the clearest manner: and these things are frequently referred to in the writings of the New Testament, which point to the ancient constitution as still to be maintained in all things essential to the being of a church. Thus viewing the divine conduct in the light which revelation throws upon it, we are taught to consider the Jewish dispensation as the infancy of the Christian, and the Christian, as the full growth, and mature perfection of the Jewish. But in both, the body is formed after the same model; and we can trace a similarity of features and lineaments, such as is observed in the progressive advancement of our own bodies from infancy to manhood. To be sure, "as the economy of man's salvation forms one complete whole, it may well be supposed, that there will be an uniformity in its several parts;"† And when we find the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, regulating the service of the Israelitish church, by the express appointment of those who were to minister in it, we may justly infer, that the same God, when manifested in the flesh for its salvation, would adopt a similar plan in the Christian church; thereby showing, that the

* Heb. xii. 16.

† See this argument well handled in Mr. Daubeny's excellent *Guide to the Church*, p. 25, &c.

"law being a shadow of good things to come," bore a resemblance in all respects to the substance, which the gospel exhibited. The law was adorned with a priesthood of God's own institution—a high priest, and priests of his own calling—a whole tribe of Levites of his own selecting, separated from the rest of the people, and peculiarly set apart for the service of the tabernacle; which, with all its holy things, was a type or figure of the body, and consequently of the church of Christ. In this church, therefore, "which is his body, the fulness of him that filleth all in all," we may expect to find the full completion of all that was prefigured under the Mosaic economy; and as the Hebrew ministry was "an ordinance for ever," that is, for the continuance of the temple and nation of the Hebrews, so are the divine institution, and perpetuity of the Christian ministry, expressed in that commission, which our Lord gave his apostles;—"As my Father sent me, even so send I you: and—lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world."

If we inquire into the history of these apostles, before they received this final and most ample commission from their Lord and Master, we shall find, that when the number of his followers had considerably increased, and he was "moved with compassion at seeing the multitudes scattered abroad, as sheep having no shepherd," he thought proper to "ordain twelve," as the evangelist tells us, "that they should be with him, and that he might send them forth to preach, and to have power to heal sicknesses, and to cast out devils;" and these he named *apostles*, as being persons peculiarly sent with power to act in his name, and to carry on the blessed work, which he had so happily begun. Afterwards, when the harvest became too great for so few labourers as these twelve, our Lord was pleased to "appoint other seventy also," who, though of an order inferior to the *apostles*, as appears from their never being distinguished by that title, were yet empowered to preach the

gospel, and to work miracles for the confirmation of their doctrine. Thus early do we observe a subordination among the ministers of Christ, and a striking similitude between the Jewish church and the Christian, with respect to their foundation and establishment. The former was delivered from the Egyptian slavery by Moses the servant of God; and the latter is delivered from its bondage to sin and satan, a slavery infinitely more deplorable, by Jesus Christ the Son of God. In the former, the twelve tribes were conducted by twelve officers, the heads of their several tribes, who were all subject to Moses: and in the latter, twelve apostles were appointed to guide and instruct the people, and themselves to be obedient in every thing unto Christ. And, to complete the allusion, our Lord's seventy disciples answered to the same number of the heads of families, who were appointed according to the number of Jacob's family that went down with him into Egypt,* and also according to the number of the "seventy men of the elders of Israel," who were solemnly set apart for assisting Moses in "bearing the burden of the people."† Thus, as some of the old fathers observed, our Lord first chose twelve apostles, and afterwards he added other seventy select disciples, that by this means, the people discovering the resemblance between him and Moses, might the more readily believe him to be that Prophet, who, Moses foretold, should come.

Thus far did our Saviour collect and gather his church in his own person, and while his ministry was confined to "the lost sheep of the house of Israel;" on which account St. Paul calls him a "minister of the circumcision," and he was frequently styled—"the King of the Jews." But as his death was to take away the distinction between Jew and Gentile, so after his resurrection he declared, that "all power was given to him in heaven and in earth;" as a

* See Dr. Potter on Church Government, p. 49—50.

† Num. xi. 16, 17.

proof of which, he enlarged the power of his apostles, and gave them a full and absolute commission, to convert, baptize and teach, not the Jews only, but "all nations." The nature of their commission is sufficiently expressed by our Lord's telling them—"As my Father hath sent me, even so send I you;" which plainly showed, that as the Father had sent and empowered him to collect, constitute and govern his church, and ordain ministers in it, so he devolved this mission and power upon them; and as before they had been only his personal attendants, waiting his orders from his own mouth, they were now to stand in his stead, to be officers in trust for the regular administration of the affairs of his kingdom, and to have authority to send others, for the purpose of carrying on and perpetuating the same plan which he had set on foot, even unto the end of the world. Though they were thus sent by him, even as he had been sent by the Father, yet it is certain, they could not be sent as mediators and redeemers, as he was; for there is but "one Mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus." This new commission, therefore, must be understood only of the authority of government and discipline in the church, which Christ himself had received of the Father, and of ordaining others to the same office, to which the apostles themselves had been called by virtue of their ordination. While our Lord himself continued personally present with them, they had a commission to baptize, and preach the gospel, and to do such things as were most likely to gain credit to their doctrine. But now being sent in a more ample and solemn manner, to supply the place of their absent Master, and carry on the work which he had begun, they were empowered to convey to others that Episcopal Authority, which they themselves had received from the chief Shepherd and Bishop of souls; that so there might be a continual, uninterrupted succession of ecclesiastical governors and pastors, who, in consequence of his gracious promise, were to hope for the blessing of his

spiritual presence, protection and assistance in the execution of their sacred office, even unto the end of the world.

Thus were the apostles exalted to the highest station in the church, according to the account which St. Paul gives of this matter, when he tells us—that "God hath set some in the church, first apostles."* He set them *first*, not only in order of time, but in dignity of office, and distinguished them as the governors of the church, under Christ its supreme Head: Which enlargement of their power we find them soon after exercising, by electing one to fill up the place of Judas, which had fallen vacant by his miserable end, and prescribing several rites to be observed by the members of their spiritual society. But though the apostles were thus constituted the principal labourers in God's vineyard, it cannot be supposed, from the daily increase of the work which it required, that they could long be able to attend to all the minuter parts and branches of it. They therefore found it necessary, according to the model established by their blessed Master, to continue that other inferior order of church officers, in which capacity themselves had served under him, while he was upon earth. These are often mentioned under the title of *presbyters* or *elders*, though the express time and manner of ordaining them be not particularly recorded. Thus we are told of the apostles Paul and Barnabas, that in the course of their travels "for confirming the souls of the disciples, they ordained them *elders* or *presbyters* in every church."† St. James directs the sick to "call for the *elders* or *presbyters* of the church to pray for them."‡ St. Peter warns those to whom he wrote, to be "obedient to their *elders*, and he exhorts these *elders* or *presbyters* to feed the flock of God which was among them."§ St. Paul puts Titus in mind, that he "had left him," as bishop, "in Crete, that he

* 1 Cor. xii. 28.
† Acts xiv. 23.
‡ St. James v. 14.
§ 1 St. Peter v. 1—5.

should set in order the things that were wanting, and ordain *elders* in every city."* The *elders*, in all these passages, are the same with *presbyters* or *priests*, the second order of ministers in the church, whom we may suppose St. Paul to have had in his eye, when, after mentioning—that "God had set some in the church, first apostles"—he added, "secondarily *prophets;*" the word *prophet* being often applied to signify a person acting by a divine commission, and employed in God's immediate service, but without conveying the idea of his foretelling future events, which is now commonly affixed to the word *prophet*.

But we have farther to observe, from the information given us in the history of the apostles, that soon after they had received their Episcopal power, they ordained another order of church ministers, who, from the nature of their office, were peculiarly distinguished as *deacons* or servants. There were seven of these ordained at first, because the apostles judged such a number sufficient to supply the necessities of the church at that time. They had the charge of the poor people, and took care of the charitable collections that were made for their relief. But they had also authority, as they now have with their bishop's license, to preach the gospel, and to baptize where a higher minister cannot be had. Thus we find Philip, who was one of them, baptizing the eunuch;† while Stephen, another of them, suffered death, for preaching the gospel to his own countrymen.‡ Accordingly this office was regularly continued in the church; and in every council or synod, mention is made of the deacons, their powers are confirmed, and their duties explained, as being the persons alluded to, whom the apostle says, God has set in the church, as "thirdly *teachers*."‖

These seem to be all the standing orders established in

* Titus i. 5.
† Acts viii. 38.
‡ Acts vi. and vii.
‖ 1 Cor. xii. 28.

the church; which therefore St. Paul, we see, distinguishes in a particular manner, by mentioning them in their regular order—" first apostles, secondarily prophets, thirdly teachers :" Which three gradations of office, thus distinguishing the Christian, as they had before distinguished the Jewish dispensation, were carefully and constantly preserved in the primitive church, and spread, with the spreading of the gospel, to the very ends of the earth. In every kingdom and corner of the converted world, we find the bishops, as the successors of the apostles in all their ordinary powers, presiding over their several portions of the flock of Christ; administering the sacred rite of confirmation, as the seal or sanction of admission into that flock; ordaining presbyters, as the pastors of its several congregations, and deacons for the particular services allotted to their order; and exercising their Episcopal authority, in governing and inspecting, each his own particular diocese, as well as in promoting and preserving the peace, unity and order of the whole body of Christians. According to this plan of church government, so exactly similar to that which was established on a smaller scale, under the Levitical priesthood, we find St. Paul, in that solemn charge which he gave to Timothy, when appointed *bishop* of the church in Ephesus, putting him in mind, among many other things, that " he should lay hands suddenly on no man; that he should receive no accusation against a *presbyter*, but before two or three witnesses; and that the *deacons* in his church should be men of sober and orderly conversation." Here we have a plain intimation of what was then, and afterwards to be, the form of ecclesiastical administration. We see the officers of the church distinguished by their respective stations; the *bishop*, as governor and inspector of a particular portion of it, answering to the *high-priest* under the law; and the *presbyters* and *deacons*, subordinate ministers in it, like the *priests* and *Levites:* And where we find these orders of ministers duly appointed, the word of God

preached, and his sacraments regularly administered, there we find the church of Christ, with its form, its authority, and every thing that is essential to its nature and constitution.

"The wisdom of God," says an admirable writer on this subject, "is here very evident, in appointing the orders of the Christian ministry after the pattern of the Jewish church, which was of his own appointment so long before. That there might be no uncertainty in a case of such consequence to the souls of men, there was no novelty, but a continuation of the like administration with that which had all along been known and acknowledged in the church. *Aaron* was an *high-priest*, with a ministry peculiar to himself; under him there was an order of *priests*, twenty-four in number, who served *by course* in the daily sacrifices and devotions of the tabernacle and temple; and these were assisted by the whole tribe of the *Levites*. As the law had its passover, its baptisms, its incense, its sacrifices, its consecrations, its benedictions, all to be realized under the sacraments and offerings of the gospel, so its ministry was but a pattern of the ministry which is now among us; and we cannot mistake the one, if we have an eye to the other: such is the goodness of God in directing us, through all the confusions of the latter days, by a rule of such great antiquity, to the way of truth, and keeping us in it."*

* See Mr. Jones' *Essay on the Church*, a tract most warmly recommended by two very competent judges of its merit, the late Dr. Horne, bishop of Norwich, and Dr. Horsley, now bishop of St. Asaph, who, in the charge which he delivered at his second general visitation of the diocese of Rochester, in the year 1800, thus addresses his clergy—"When, by assiduity in your public and private ministry, by the purity of your lives, and the soundness of your doctrine, you have gained the good will and esteem of your parishioners, they will be ready to give you their attention upon a subject, upon which the people of this country, in general, much want good teaching: I mean the nature of the church, the necessity of church communion, and the danger of schism. Upon these points I know nothing so well calculated for general edification, as a tract,

God has many ways of directing us to what is right, but none more instructive, than the beautiful order and striking uniformity to be observed through all his dispensations of grace and mercy, and particularly in those which are connected with the care and government of his church. There it is that men are to look for the "old paths," the good and approved way of God's appointment, that they may walk therein, and find rest to their souls. But this can never be the case, if they take delight in following the endless innovations of latter times, and instead of seeking rest in God's way, and according to his direction, are content to wander about in ways of their own devising, and will never allow their souls to rest on the basis of true religion. New schemes of faith, and false systems of duty are daily recommended to men's deluded fancies; and notwithstanding all that has been said (and much has been written with great clearness of reasoning) to show, that the constitution of God's church must be ever considered as the instituted means of preserving and conveying the precious doctrines of salvation, from the beginning to the end of time, it is still pretended, that the scriptures of truth give us no information on this interesting subject, and prescribe no particular form of ecclesiastical polity "as necessary, or even more acceptable to God than another."

In the *lectures on ecclesiastical history*, of which we have

entituled, *An Essay on the Church*, by the late Rev. William Jones, some time of Pluckley, in this county, but last of Nayland, in Suffolk. It has lately been reprinted in a small size, and at a cheap rate, by the *Society for promoting Christian Knowledge*, of which the author had been many years a most useful member. Of that faithful servant of God, I can speak, both from personal knowledge, and from his writings. He was a man of quick penetration, of extensive learning, and the soundest piety. And he had, beyond any other man I ever knew, the talent of writing upon the deepest subjects to the plainest understandings. He is gone to his rest, and his works, we trust, follow him. His *Catholic Doctrine of the Trinity*, and this *Essay on the Church*, cannot have too wide a circulation."

already taken some notice, it is affirmed, and "will be owned," says the author, "by those who, on this subject, are capable of examining with coolness, and pronouncing with impartiality, that we have not that sort of information in holy writ, from which we can with certainty form a judgment, concerning the entire model of the apostolic church. What we can learn thence on this subject, we must collect from scattered hints given, as it were, incidentally, when nothing seemed less the intention of the writers, than to convey to us a particular account of the plan of the society they had formed."* Whether there be any truth in this observation, or how much regard is due to it, may be easily inferred from what has been, in the foregoing pages, very briefly stated respecting the "information," which may certainly be obtained from the writings of the New Testament, "by those who are capable of examining with coolness."—And were there even less to be found than is really contained in the sacred records, on the subject of church government, the conclusion to be drawn from this seeming silence on a matter of such importance, would be very different from that which this theological teacher has attempted to draw from it. If such of the apostles as were employed in writing the gospels and epistles that go by their respective names, did not think it necessary to mention in express and positive terms, the plan of the society which they had formed on the model laid down by their blessed Master, it is to be remembered, that the government of the church was then in the hands of the apostolic college, and the form and manner in which it was administered, being visible to all who had any concern with it, there was no more occasion for telling them what that form of government was, than there would be now, in enforcing a proper behaviour on the subjects of this united kingdom, to tell them, that they were governed

* Dr. Campbell's Lectures, lect. iv.

by a King, assisted in his legislative capacity by the Lords and Commons in parliament assembled.

Of that which is daily exhibited in practice, there seems to be no necessity for a minute description in theory; and as the practice of the apostles, under the immediate direction of the Holy Spirit, was perfectly sufficient to show how the church was then governed, and in what way a succession of governors was to be continued, as their Lord had promised, "even unto the end of the world;" this was a matter, which, however important in itself, did not require to be particularly insisted on, in the writings of the New Testament, because it must have been easily known, and well understood, by those persons for whose immediate use these writings were originally intended. A great number of these were either Jews by descent, or proselytes to the Jewish religion before they embraced the faith of Christ; and to people of this description, the form and order of the priesthood had long been as familiar as the daily service performed in the temple; all which, they knew, were to be considered as "types and shadows of the good things to come," under the dispensation of the gospel. Viewing the religion of their fathers in this light, as nothing else in fact but Christianity under a veil, these converted Jews, or Jewish proselytes, would naturally infer, from the little that was said on this subject, that the same *orders* of priesthood were to be retained under the gospel that had been established under the law; especially when they *saw* three orders actually employed in the work of the ministry, and heard of certain Christians "perishing in the gainsaying of Corah;" a thing which to them must have appeared impossible, if there was not to be still a superior order of priesthood in the church, the "honour of which, no man was to take to himself, but he that was called of God, as was Aaron." Even the converts from heathenism had been so long accustomed to higher and lower degrees, among those who were appointed to direct its idolatrous

services, that when they saw the worship and discipline of the church conducted by the three orders of *apostles*, *presbyters*, and *deacons*, they could not fail to believe, that this plan of ecclesiastical polity was to be permanent under the gospel, as a similar establishment had been under the law while it remained in force, and that both were acceptable to that God of order from whom they proceeded.*

It is true, Dr. Campbell is at great pains to expose what he thinks the absurdity of establishing any analogy between the priesthood of the Old and that of the New Testament; the former of which being intended to serve for a time, he considers as "instrumental in ushering a more divine and rational dispensation;"† *more divine* than that, which *God* himself had instituted—*more rational* than that, by which the *reason* of his own chosen people had been so long directed! On this point he labours, with uncommon ardour, through a whole lecture, inveighing against the distinction between *clergy* and *laity*, and with particular severity against, what he is pleased to call, "*the priestly pride of some prelatical preachers;*"‡ where the force of the censure, no doubt, lies in the beautiful alliteration or jingle of the sentence. Were we disposed to retort in something like his own style, it would not, we presume, be difficult to show, that the *pride* of *presbytery* is much more *predominant* in these *prelections*, than could have been expected from a *professor*, whose general character was supposed to place him far above the use of any such mean, unbecoming language, as that which we have now quoted. We must take him, however, as he is represented to us in this posthumous publication, which, we are assured, "was left fully written out by himself, and in a proper state of preparation for the press;" and of which

* See this point very properly handled in the *Anti-Jacobin Review* of Dr. Campbell's Lectures—for June, 1801.

† See his Lectures, lect. x. ‡ Lecture x.

it is said, in an advertisement prefixed to the work, that "such as are acquainted with the subject, will admire the author's well-digested learning, and will readily perceive the importance of an accurate historical deduction of the progress of church power, and the establishment of a hierarchy, and how clear and decisive it is, in all that may be termed the hinge of the controversy between high church and others."

From this prefatory account of these boasted *lectures*, and from what we have heard reported of their extraordinary merit, by those who are prepared to admire and extol whatever has come from the pen of their author, it may fairly be presumed, that they are considered as containing the whole strength of the arguments against diocesan Episcopacy, and that every thing which could be said on the subject, has now been brought forward, "with that perspicuity, candour and moderation," which are said to distinguish the writings of Dr. Campbell. It may, therefore, be deemed not a little presumptuous in any one, who has not arrived at the same height of literary fame, to attempt a refutation of such strong and powerful reasoning as might be expected from a writer whose reputation has been long established "in the republic of letters." The only apology I have to offer for such seeming presumption, shall be furnished by Dr. Campbell himself; who, in the introduction to his ingenious *Dissertation on Miracles*, alluding to *Mr. Hume*, as a "subtle and powerful adversary," makes this modest acknowledgment, which I shall beg leave to apply to my own case:—"With such an adversary," as Dr. Campbell, "I should on very unequal terms enter the lists, had I not the advantage of being on the side of truth. And an eminent advantage this doubtless is. It requires but moderate abilities to speak in defence of a good cause. A good cause demands but a distinct exposition, and a fair hearing; and we may say with great propriety, it will speak for itself."

To strengthen this confidence in the goodness of the cause, which now claims our support, I have the satisfaction to observe, that nothing has been said against it, in these modern, and by some so much admired *lectures*, but what had been often said before, by writers on the same side, and as often answered by others of a different persuasion. Even Dr. Campbell, with all his boasted penetration, and "wonderful acuteness," has not been able to produce any one objection to the apostolic, and therefore divine institution of Episcopacy, which had not been started by others, who preceded him in the same field of controversy.* Some of their arguments he has indeed clothed with a new dress, and by that means has made them assume somewhat of a different form and appearance; but in substance and reality, we shall find them the same as those to which we have been always accustomed, with the exception perhaps of one prominent and distinguishing feature, their being accompanied with a peculiar boldness of assertion, and peremptory mode of decision, which certainly give no addition to their intrinsic value, or to their effect in proving the truth of what is thus asserted.

Such then being the nature of the work we have to examine, the materials of which have been furnished by other hands, and only put together by this eminent artist, we need only look back to the accounts of those, who have already inspected them, and see what opinion was given of them at the time when they were first produced. Since even this learned and strenuous opposer of Episcopacy has

* In proof of this, it might easily be shown, how much he has borrowed, not only from *Blondel*, *Salmasius*, and other foreigners, but also from writers in the English language, such as *Cartwright*, *Clarkson*, *Baxter*, *Lord King*, author of an *Enquiry into the Constitution, &c. of the primitive Church*; and from his own countryman *Mr. Anderson*, of Dunbarton against Rhind, to whom he seems to have been particularly indebted for some of his most violent invectives against the "*High-church party*," as may be seen in the dedication, preface, and many other parts of *Mr. Anderson's* work.

been able to say nothing that is new against it, there is no reason to expect, that any thing new should be said in its defence. As the mode of attack is still the same, the means of repelling it must be the same likewise: And since our acute and ingenious adversary has not condescended to strike out any other way of assailing our ecclesiastical constitution, than what has been discovered by those that went before him with the same hostile view, we must be content to follow him in the beaten path, which so many of his predecessors have trod, though perhaps not so capable as he, of giving it all the turnings and windings which are so curiously displayed in the *lectures* now before us.

It is proper to begin the observations, which we have proposed to make on these theological lectures, by giving the author's own account of them. "I intend," says he, in the beginning of his first lecture, "that the subject of the present and some succeeding lectures, shall be the sacred history, the first branch of the theoretic part of the theological course which claims the attention of the student. This is subdivided into two parts: the first comprehends the events which preceded the Christian æra; the second, those which followed. The first, in a looser way of speaking, is included under the title of Jewish history; the second is what is commonly denominated church history, or ecclesiastic history." It is this second part of his plan, with which we are more immediately concerned, and which he introduces, by telling us, towards the conclusion of his second lecture: "Now indeed was formed a community of the disciples of Jesus, which was called his church; a word that denotes no more than society or assembly, and is sometimes used in the New Testament, with evident analogy to the common use, to signify the whole community of Christians considered as one body, of which Christ is denominated the Head; and sometimes only a particular congregation of Christians. In this general society, founded

in the unity of their faith, their hope, their love, cemented, as it were, by a communion or joint participation, as occasion offered, in religious offices, in adoration, *in baptism*, and in the commemoration of the sufferings of their Lord, preserved by a most friendly intercourse, and by frequent instructions, admonitions, reproofs when necessary, and even by the exclusion of those who had violated such powerful and solemn engagements; in all this, I say, there was nothing that interfered with the temporal powers." And we are ready to say the same, because Christ himself assures us, that "his *kingdom*," which Dr. Campbell chooses to call "the Christian *commonwealth*, is not of this world," and, therefore, "in no respect calculated to interfere with the rights of princes, or afford matter of umbrage or jealousy to the secular powers." But when we are told, that "this *general society* is cemented by a *communion* or *joint participation in baptism*," we are at a loss to know what is meant by this expression, as connected with what follows; since there is surely no command in scripture, enjoining the disciples of Jesus to *partake jointly*, as *occasion offers*, in *baptism*, although they are expressly commanded to partake *jointly* in what is here called, "the commemoration of the sufferings of their Lord." We are certain, that baptism is the only means whereby members can be admitted into this society; but we have never learned, that a set of unbaptized persons, even though united in the belief of the gospel, have any authority to constitute themselves members of it, by baptizing one another, which would seem to be the Lecturer's meaning, in the passage which we are now considering.

We are also obliged to differ from him very widely, with respect to what is called the *Church;* which word, if it denotes, as he acknowledges, a *society*, must also signify, not a casual *assembly*, or even a meeting of persons by *voluntary agreement* among themselves; but, as the derivation of the original word implies, a *select* society, or

number of people, called or selected, by some person or persons having authority for that purpose: And as the kingdom of Christ is declared to be "not of this world," the subjects of that kingdom, or the members of his church, must be considered as *called out of* or *from the world;* called by God from "the world that lieth in wickedness," that "having delivered them from the power of darkness, he may translate them into the kingdom of his dear Son."* All this shows the nature and jurisdiction of the church of Christ to be very different from that of "any private company, like a knot of artists or philosophers," to which Dr. Campbell is pleased to compare the society founded by the Son of God for the salvation of mankind: a comparison so unworthy of being brought forward on such an occasion, and so unlikely to answer any good end, by the terms in which it is stated, that we should not have thought it deserving the smallest notice, if it were not evidently intended to introduce an inquiry into the causes of that woful corruption, which soon prevailed among Christians, and which, by a long and fanciful chain of connection, is traced to the primitive practice of referring their civil differences to the arbitration of their ministers.

This practice is considered as a natural consequence of St. Paul's "expostulation with the Corinthians on the nature and dignity of their Christian vocation, to which it would be much more suitable, patiently to suffer injuries, than to endeavour to obtain redress," by going to law in the heathen courts. But lest there should be any mistake on this point, by confounding matters of civil controversy with injuries of a more criminal nature, our Lecturer takes care to inform us, that not only "such private offences, but also those scandals which affected the whole Christian fraternity, were," in the apostolic age, "judged by the *church*, that is, the *congregation*." "Accordingly," he says,† "the judg-

* Col. i. 13. † Lecture iii.

ment, which Paul, by the Spirit of God, had formed, concerning the incestuous person, he *enjoins* the church, to whom his epistle is directed, that is (to use his own words for an explanation), them who at Corinth are sanctified in Christ Jesus, called to be saints, to pronounce and execute. And in his second epistle to the same church,* he says, in reference to the same delinquent—"Sufficient to such a man is the censure, which was inflicted by many;" ὑπο των πλειονων —by the community—and (v. 10) "To whom ye forgive any thing, addressing himself always to the *congregation*, I forgive also. We admit, with the learned Dodwell,† that in the censure inflicted on the incestuous person, the Christians at Corinth were but the executors of the doom awarded by the apostle. Nor does any one question the apostolic authority in such matters over both the flock and the pastors. But from the words last quoted, it is evident, that he *acknowledges*, at the same time, the *ordinary power* in regard to discipline lodged in the *congregation;* and from the confidence he had in the discretion and integrity of the Corinthians, he promises his concurrence in what they shall think proper to do. 'To whom ye forgive any thing, I forgive also.' Now, though in after times the charge of this matter also came to be devolved, first on the bishop and presbyters, and afterwards solely on the bishop, yet that the *people* as well as the presbyters, as far down, at least, as to the middle of the third century, retained some share in the decision of questions, wherein morals were immediately concerned, is manifest from *Cyprian's* letters still extant. In his time, when congregations were become very numerous, the inquiry and deliberation were holden (perhaps then more commodiously) in the ecclesiastical college, called the *presbytery*, consisting of the bishop, the presbyters, and the deacons. When this was over, the result of their inquiry and consultations was reported to

* 2 Cor. ii. 6. † De jure laicorum sacerdotali. c. iii. sec. 10.

the whole *congregation belonging to that church*, who were called together on purpose, in order to obtain their *approbation* of what had been done, and their consent to the resolution that had been taken; for without their *consent*, no judgment could regularly be put in execution."

Such is the surprising account given of this matter in Dr. Campbell's Lectures; and such the light in which his theological students were taught to view the original constitution and discipline of the Christian church!—Had such an account been given by one of our modern *independents*, who boast of their *congregational* churches, as the only form of primitive institution; or had such a lecture been read in the *society for propagating the gospel at home*, we should have considered it, however ill founded and erroneous, as perfectly natural, and consistent with the object and end of these *independent* and *missionary* schemes.* But how shall we discover or allow the merit of any such consistency of character, where we see a man of acknowledged abilities, and holding some of the most distinguished offices which the religious establishment of this country has to boast of, yet supporting and recommending a system of ecclesiastical order and discipline, almost as different from that which is established in Scotland, as it is opposite to every thing of the kind to be met with in the primitive church? Have not the friends of this establishment too much reason to suspect that their learned Lecturer would have been one of its warmest opponents, had not his opposition been prevented by the liberal provision which it held out to him, and the preferments which he so long enjoyed?

But in the preceding extract from his *third lecture*, no

* We have heard, that *Greville Ewing*, and the *Haldenites*, hold Dr. Campbell's Lectures in high estimation. They have also been much admired and recommended by the *Monthly* and *Critical Reviewers*, who, in general, are not considered as very friendly either to *primitive truth* or *order*.

singularity of opinion strikes us more forcibly than his strange insinuation, that Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, was no more but the pastor of a single congregation; when the keenest adversaries of the Episcopal cause have been obliged to acknowledge that he was undoubtedly the fixed and permanent *moderator* of a *presbytery*, which contained at least eight congregations: And though Dr. Campbell has asserted it, as a thing "manifest from Cyprian's Letters," that in his time, "the *people*, as well as the presbyters, retained some share in the decision of questions, wherein morals were immediately concerned," yet he has not favoured us with the quotation of a single passage to prove the truth of his assertion; and we are certain, that many passages could be produced to evince the direct contrary, and which would completely overthrow this pretended jurisdiction of the people.

Such, indeed, was the remarkable humility and condescension of this primitive martyr, the venerable bishop of Carthage, that from the time of his entering on his Episcopal office, as he says in one of his letters—"he had resolved to do nothing in the public affairs of the church, without the advice of his presbyters and deacons, and the consent or approbation of the people at large."* But, that this was the effect of his own free and voluntary condescension, and what he was not bound to adhere to, if he saw good reason for acting otherwise, is evident from many instances of his future conduct, and particularly from the letters written by him, on the subject of reconciling those who, by sacrificing to idols, during the *Decian* persecution, had lapsed or fallen from the communion of the church. In one of these letters, he threatens his presbyters and deacons with a heavy sentence, if they should dare to transgress the rule, or order, which he had sent them, respecting the treat-

* Quando primordio Episcopatus mei *statuerim*, nihil sine consilio vestro, et sine consensu plebis, mea privatim sententia gerere. Ep. xiv. p. 33.

ment of these unhappy persons in his absence.* Let any person read the letters, and try if it be possible to reconcile them to the character of one, who was nothing more than the pastor of a single congregation, or to discover any thing in them that looks like an acknowledgment on the writer's part, of that democratic influence in the administration of church discipline, which Dr. Campbell seems so eager to support.

But we need not wonder at his making Cyprian no more than the pastor of an *independent* congregation, who could do nothing "without their consent," when we find him endeavouring to press St. Paul himself into the same service. For though he admits, as he could not well do otherwise, that the Christians at Corinth were but the executors of the doom "awarded by the apostle;" yet he thinks it evident, that St. Paul "acknowledged the ordinary power in regard to discipline lodged in the congregation," because he told them—'To whom ye forgive any thing, I forgive also;' thus "promising his concurrence in what they should judge proper to do;" which surely implies, that without his concurrence in this affair, they could do nothing; and that all their power of judging arose from the authority, which, in this instance, and for particular reasons, he was pleased to give them. And so he tells them—"To this end also did I write, that I might know the proof of you, whether ye be *obedient* in all things."† Indeed, the language which

* "Interea, siquis immoderatus et præceps, sive de *nostris presbyteris* vel *diaconis*, sive de peregrinis, ausus fuerit, ante *sententiam nostram*, communicare cum lapsis, a *communicatione nostra* resecetur." See this subject discussed in a most satisfactory manner, by Bishop Sage, in his *Principles of the Cyprianic Age.* London, 1695.

† 2 Cor. ii. 9. It is well observed by the Anti-Jacobin Reviewer of this article, that "to whom ye forgive any thing, I forgive also," is certainly the language of a superior to inferiors, who have no power either to punish, or to forgive, but what they derive from him: It is, as if the king had said to the viceroy of Ireland, during the late rebellion—"I entrust you with the amplest powers for the public good: such of the rebels

the apostle uses, through the whole of his discussion of this awful subject, plainly shows, that the power of excommunicating the obstinately guilty, or re-admitting the penitent, rested solely in himself. For "I told you before," says he, "and foretel you as if I were present the second time, and being absent, now I write to them, which heretofore have sinned, and to all other, that if I come again, I will not *spare*." And again—"I write these things, being absent, lest being present, I should use *sharpness*, according to *the power which the Lord hath given me to edification, and not to destruction*."* Though Dr. Campbell could not but perceive, that these expressions gave little countenance to his *congregational*, or *independent* scheme, yet by translating the words—η επιμια αυτη η υπο των πλειονων—"the *censure* which was inflicted by the *community*," instead of—"this *punishment* which was inflicted of many," he would seem to insinuate, that the incestuous person was excommunicated by a *vote* of the congregation; when the fact was, that, without referring the matter at all to them, St. Paul himself had passed the sentence, as he tells us in these words—"I verily as absent in body, but present in spirit, have *judged* already, as though I were present, concerning him, that hath so done this deed; in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, when ye are gathered together, and my spirit, with the power of our Lord Jesus Christ, to deliver such a one unto Satan, for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus."† The apostle then proceeds to show, what should be the effect of this sentence, by enjoining those to whom he wrote, to "put away from among them the excommunicated person, not to keep company with him, and with such an one, no not to eat;" which abhorrence of his company and conver-

as you shall forgive, I will forgive also." But will any man say, that in ordinary cases, the viceroy's power, in consequence of such a speech, would have been considered as the same with the sovereign's?

* 2 Cor. xiii. 2, 10. † 1 Cor. v. 3, 4, 5.

sation, would of course bring him into public *disgrace*, and that disgrace was the punishment which the Christian people had to inflict, in consequence of their apostle's sentence.

But the strain of declamation, in which Dr. Campbell indulges on this subject, seems all intended to afford him an opportunity, not only of giving a favourable view of the discipline of his own church; which, unless with regard to "churches and manses, and some other things of little moment," he considers as perhaps the most unexceptionable now to be met with; but also of representing in a very different light, "the polity and discipline" of the church of England, which, he seems to think, have been "devised, for the express purpose of rendering the clerical character odious, and the discipline contemptible." As a proof of this, he tells his audience, that "ecclesiastical censures, in England, have now no regard, agreeably to their original destination, to purity and manners;" supposing, no doubt, that his presbyterian students would never look into the *Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England*, where, in the rubric prefixed to the *communion* service, and which was made a part of, and confirmed by, an act of parliament, the minister is expressly ordered to admit, or not to admit to the Lord's table, according to what he knows of the life and conversation of the person applying for admission; and in case of "repelling any," he is "obliged to give an account of the same to his ordinary, who shall proceed against the offending person according to the canon." How then can it be said, that such "ecclesiastical censures have no regard to purity and manners?" Yes—says Dr. Campbell—"the participation of one of the sacraments having been with them, by a very short-sighted policy, perverted into a test for civil offices, a minister may be compelled by the magistrate, to admit a man who is well known to be a most improper person, an atheist, blas-

phemer, or profligate."* The history of this *test*, and the causes which gave rise to it, and still operate in the opinion of the legislature, as a sufficient ground for its continuance, must have been well known to our learned professor; who must also have known, had he but taken the trouble to inquire, that no such compulsion as that which he supposes, is ever experienced by any minister of the church of England;† and therefore the *coarse* expression might have been spared, which alludes to the *test*, as "a *coarse* implement of human authority, to compel a thing of so delicate a nature as true religion." The *coarseness* complained of lies not in the implement, but in the disposition of those who are tempted to abuse, or apply it to a wrong purpose; and such temptations will always occur, where the profession of religion is accompanied with those worldly advantages, which, in some shape or other, are often connected with it, even when embraced in its greatest purity.

Having observed our Lecturer taking so much pains to convince his pupils, that the discipline of his own church, though infinitely preferable to that of the church of England, was yet far short of the pure apostolic model, by which the *congregational* or *independent* churches are distinguished, we might have supposed, that any farther

* Lecture iii.

† See this matter very fully discussed by the learned Bishop Sherlock, in his 'Arguments against the repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts.' "The test act," says that able prelate, "forces no clergyman to give the sacrament to atheists and debauchees, or any other offenders, if they be openly and notoriously such: and if they are such only in secret, they are out of the question; for no clergyman's conscience can be burdened for admitting an unknown offender to the sacrament. If a clergyman proceed with discretion and charity, and according to the rules prescribed him by authority, he has as little to fear from a man with a place, as from a man without one; and if he be unjustly and vexatiously sued for doing his duty, the law will give him costs."—Such was the opinion of an English prelate, who, in regard to this matter, must surely have known what was "the law of the land," and the power of the magistrate, as well as any Scotch professor.

inquiry into the original form of church government, was either quite unnecessary, or at least a matter of so little moment as not to require any long or serious discussion.—For if it be true, that all ecclesiastical authority is derived from the people, and that the very distinction between clergy and laity, has its only foundation in the will and choice of the Christian community, appointing what is proper for the preservation of order and decency in their religious assemblies; in that case, the question, whether the persons set apart in the apostolic age for that purpose, were of one, or two, or three orders; or what were the powers with which they were supposed to be invested, is so frivolous in itself, and of so little weight in the scale of our duty as Christians, as hardly to require or merit the slightest examination. Yet trifling as it must have appeared in the eyes of Dr. Campbell, and of such of his students as viewed it in the same light with him, he obliged them to attend to it, through seven of his lectures; "the subject of which," he told them, "was the internal polity of the church, and the form she has insensibly assumed; with the rules of subordination which have obtained, and in many places do still obtain in the different orders."

In following him through the course of this inquiry, we are presented with a regular chain of "steps, advancing from presbytery to parochial Episcopacy, thence to prelacy or diocesan Episcopacy, from that to metropolitical primacy, thence again to patriarchal superintendency," and landing at last in the papal supremacy. The first three of these steps are all with which, properly speaking, we are concerned, in defending our own ecclesiastical polity; and through these we shall endeavour to trace his progress, with as much order as his frequent excursions will permit. Before we are regularly introduced to the first step of his course, we find several things *premised*, and laid down for our direction, which, as I observed already, would seem to render quite unnecessary all that follows, respecting the

different forms of ecclesiastical administration. For in the most unqualified language, we are plainly told, that "the terms of the gospel covenant are no where, in the sacred pages, connected with, or made to depend on, either the minister, or the form of the ministry;"* although he had just before quoted our Lord's own declaration of the terms of the gospel covenant in these words—"He that believeth, and is *baptized*, shall be saved;" which surely implies his being baptized after the *form* and manner pointed out in the commission which Christ gave his apostles, at the very time when he made this declaration. If *baptism* then must be considered as one of the terms, or conditions of salvation, how can it be said to have no dependence on the minister, or no connection with the form of his ministry? Are we to understand our Lecturer's words, as intended to teach his pupils, that our Lord's apostles acquired no particular authority from the commission which he gave them, for making all nations his disciples, by baptizing them; and that the form of baptism laid down in that commission, was not more valid, or more necessary to be observed, than any other form, which might be adopted for the same purpose? Then, to be sure, the original form of government in the church is a matter of no consequence; and it is perfectly ridiculous to give ourselves any trouble in inquiring, or reasoning about it. Every one that pleases, may take on himself the office of a minister; and every form of ministry is equally consistent with the terms, and productive of the benefits, of the gospel covenant.

The same inference must undoubtedly be drawn from the account which is afterwards given of the apostolic commission, where we are told by this learned explainer of the "sacred pages," that—"the first order given to the eleven to *make converts*, *to baptize*, *and to teach*, carries

* Lecture iv.

in it nothing from which we can discover, that it was a commission entrusted to them exclusively as apostles or ministers, and not given them also as Christians; and that the apostles were particularized, because best qualified, from their long attendance on Christ's ministry, for promoting his religion in the world; but not with a view to exclude any Christians, who were capable, from co-operating with them in the same good cause."* We had just before been told of a "similitude taken from temporal things," for the better illustration of this dark and difficult subject; and by the help of a little freedom of the same kind, in which, we hope, there is no harm, we now discover, that Dr. Campbell's so long possessing the theological chair in Marischal College, and instructing his pupils in the knowledge of sound divinity, was not in consequence of his having received any commission or authority for that purpose, but merely because he was "best qualified" for discharging the duties of the office, and none else were "capable of co-operating with him in the same good cause."†

* Lecture iv.

† This point is well illustrated by another "similitude," which the Anti-Jacobin Reviewer of Dr. Campbell's work thus happily makes use of. 'It is not probable, that his Majesty's commission to the president of the supreme court of law in Scotland, *expressly prohibits* all other lawyers from executing that office, to which it appoints him; and it is certainly not improbable, that there are many lawyers at the Scotch bar perfectly well qualified to preside over any court of law in that part of the united kingdom. Yet what would Dr. Campbell have thought of the man, who, having formed opinions of the constitution of courts of law, similar to those which he had himself formed of the constitution of the Christian church, should have said—"There is nothing in the commission given to the *president* of *the court of session*, from which we can discover that it is a commission entrusted to him exclusively, as a judge, and not given to him also as a lawyer; and that he is particularized in it, only because he is best qualified for discharging the duties of the office, but not with a view to exclude any lawyer who is capable, from occasionally taking possession of his chair, and presiding with authority over the court?'

But that the opinion which led to this similitude was the " construction put upon the apostolic charge, in the days of the apostles," we are told, " appears not improbable, from the subsequent part of the scripture history; for Philip the deacon baptized the Ethiopian eunuch; Peter trusted the charge of baptizing Cornelius and his family, to the Christian brethren who attended him; Ananias, a disciple, was employed to baptize Paul; and Paul says of himself, that Christ sent him not to baptize, but to preach the gospel."

With respect to the first of these instances, it is said, that " Philip, though no apostle, and probably at that time no more than a deacon, (that is, a trustee for the poor in matters purely secular) did all to the Ethiopian eunuch, which the apostles had in charge with regard to all nations. He converted, baptized, and taught him." And so he well might, when the " angel of the Lord" had sent him on the journey, which led to this conversion, and the " spirit" directed him how to proceed in it. Our Lecturer takes no notice of this circumstance, or of the account which is given of the appointment of the seven deacons; who, though men " full of the Holy Ghost," were yet solemnly ordained by prayer, and the laying on of the apostles' hands; which evidently shows, that this same deacon, or " trustee for the poor," as he is here called for the sake of lessening his sacred character, was something more, even in office, than those, who are thought to supply the place of deacons under the Scotch establishment; and being also directed by an immediate vision, or inspiration from heaven, was sufficiently warranted in all that he did for the benefit of his Ethiopian convert.

A second instance produced from scripture in support of our author's opinion, respecting the nature of the apostolic commission, is the relation of what happened, " when Peter was sent to open the door of faith to the Gentiles, by the conversion of Cornelius and his family." To prepare

the way for that merciful event, an angel of God was sent to the devout centurion, not to instruct him directly in the faith of Christ, but to inform him of one, who "should tell him what he ought to do." This necessary knowledge of his duty was to be obtained, not from the first well-informed Christian, who could be found to impart it, but from an apostle of Christ, who was to be brought from a considerable distance for that purpose: which clearly shows, that the commission, in virtue of which the apostles acted, was so "exclusively entrusted to them as apostles," that not even an angel from heaven was allowed to intermeddle with any thing that belonged to it. An apostle, therefore, having been sent for; having come to Cornelius, and having found, that "on all those in his house, who heard the word, the gift of the Holy Ghost had been poured out" in a most wonderful and conspicuous manner, he naturally puts this question to "the six brethren who accompanied him,"—"Can any man forbid water, that these should not be baptized, which have received the Holy Ghost as well as we?" And then we read, that "he *commanded* them to be baptized in the name of the Lord;"* that is, he gave *authority* to those that were with him to administer the sacrament of baptism; and surely no person can doubt his right to delegate such authority, in consequence of the commission which he himself had received from Christ for that very purpose. When all these circumstances are duly considered,—the previous falling of the Holy Ghost upon these first fruits of the Gentiles,—the presence of an apostle,—the attendance of certain brethren; an apostolic command empowering these brethren to baptize the converted family; it is hardly possible to conceive a train of facts more directly contrary to the popular claim set up by Dr. Campbell, than what appears in the history of the conversion of Cornelius, and the means by

* Acts x. 47, 48.

which he and his family were received into the church of Christ.

What is said of "Ananias, a disciple, being employed to baptize Paul," is as little to the purpose for which it is brought forward, since we know not of what rank in the church this disciple was, and the apostles themselves are frequently called disciples; neither is it positively said, that Ananias baptized Paul, any more than that Peter baptized Cornelius. And if Ananias' saying to Paul, "Arise and be baptized," proves that in consequence of this command Paul received baptism from his hands, it may with equal reason be inferred, that Peter's commanding Cornelius to be baptized, proves the office to have been performed by the apostle. In both cases, however, there was a direct communication from heaven; and when Ananias acted under divine influence, and according to what "the Lord said to him in a vision," we cannot doubt of his having sufficient authority for what he did, whether he was ordained or not by the hands of men; and from all that the sacred historian tells us of him, no man can say, that he was not so ordained. Even from our Lecturer's own words—"Ananias, a disciple, was *employed* to baptize Paul," it may be justly concluded, that the *disciple* was duly *authorized* by his *Master* and *Employer:* And a similar inference may be drawn from what Dr. Campbell acknowledges of St. Paul's "saying himself of his own *mission*, that Christ *sent* him not to baptize, but to preach the gospel;" which clearly shows, that, since we are certain he *did baptize*, as well as *preach*, it was the apostle's own opinion, that he could not regularly do either the one or the other without being *sent*.

In all these instances,* produced from the scripture

* The same instances, and the same arguments founded upon them, were produced some years ago, for a similar purpose, by another minister of the Scotch establishment, in a work, entitled—*An Inquiry into the Powers of Ecclesiastics, &c.* and which was taken due notice of at the time of its publication.

history, we have now seen what ground there is for the construction which our author wishes to show was put upon the apostolic charge, in the days of the apostles, and particularly what was then the opinion of Christians, with respect to the power of *baptizing*, "which," he says, "compared with preaching, though a part, was but an inferior and subordinate part of an apostle's charge." Yet was it particularly specified in the apostolic commission, and pointed out as the instituted means, whereby the converted nations were to be brought to Christ, and entered into his school, for the purpose of being "taught to observe all things whatsoever he had commanded."—How then can it be thought, that the administration of baptism was not an essential part of the commission given to the apostles, and given to them exclusively, not as Christians, but as apostles, persons "sent by Christ, even as the Father had sent him," with power to provide for the regular transmission of the same authority to "*preach* and *baptize*, even unto the end of the world?"

Indeed, our Lecturer seems to have been aware of his having gone too far, in giving such a degrading account of baptism, and in assigning such unlimited power to the "community at large," for the administration of it; and, therefore, he adds a sort of caution against any improper inference that might be drawn from what he had said on the subject, by telling us, that "nothing here advanced can justly be understood to combat the propriety of limiting, for the sake of discipline, the power of baptizing to fewer hands, than that of preaching, when once a fixed ministry is settled in a church, and regulations are adopted for its government."—But if it be true, as he had said before, that "the first order given to the eleven to *baptize*, was with no view of *excluding* any Christians, who were capable, from co-operating with them;" who are they that could afterwards pretend to alter that order, or make an *exclusion*, where none was intended? If Christ himself allowed, and

gave his apostles authority to permit, the promiscuous liberty of *baptizing* to all Christians, who were capable of using it; who but these apostles, as acting for Christ, could with any "propriety limit" the general power, with which he had thus indulged all his capable disciples? If Dr. Campbell's *presbytery*, as succeeding to the apostles, or rather coming after them, (for strictly speaking, he allows them no successors) did for the sake of discipline, consider such a limitation proper, and make it accordingly; was not this as flagrant an encroachment upon the "rights" of the people made over to them by Christ, as what he so bitterly complains of in the diocesan bishops, when they began to limit the powers, and encroach upon the rights of their brethren presbyters? It might also be asked, who they were, that could take upon them to "settle a fixed ministry in a church," different from that which the apostles had settled; or were entitled to appoint "regulations to be adopted for its government," if all "capable Christians" had an equal right to share in that government, and none were set apart for judging of their brethren's capacities?

These are questions which our Professor well knew it would be difficult to answer; and conscious, as it were, of the necessity of sheltering, under something like primitive authority, what he had advanced, respecting the right of private Christians to exercise those offices, which have long been considered as peculiar to a public ministry, he tells us —*"The doctrine I have been illustrating, so far from being, as some Romanists ignorantly pretend, one of the many novelties sprung from the protestant schism, was openly maintained at Rome without censure, about the middle of the fourth century, by Hilary, a deacon of that church, a man of erudition and discernment; whose opinion, it seems, as here represented, was, that, "at first, for the increase of converts, it was allowed to all without distinc-

* Lecture iv.

tion, to preach, to baptize, and to explain the scriptures in the church."* Such is the doctrine which this author is made to teach by giving a few extracts from his exposition of the fourth chapter of the epistle to the Ephesians; in which, finding a number of church officers mentioned by St. Paul, as having been given by Christ for the work of the ministry, he wished to make it appear, that even in his time, they were all retained, though under different names: and as the practice then was to administer baptism only on certain days, and at stated seasons, we can easily discover what this "man of erudition and discernment" means, when he says—that "at first—all taught, and all baptized, whenever occasion called, without any distinction of days

* The words quoted by Dr. Campbell from the commentary of Hilary, who is usually called the Pseudo-Ambrose, and which had been quoted by Mr. Anderson, of Dunbarton, for the same purpose, are these—"Postquam omnibus locis, ecclesiæ sunt constitutæ, et officia ordinata, aliter composita res est quam cœperat; primum enim omnes docebant, et omnes baptizabant, quibuscunque diebus vel temporibus fuisset occasio." A little after, "Neque Petrus diaconos habuit, quando Cornelium, cum omni domo ejus baptizavit; nec ipse, sed jussit fratribus qui cum illo ierant ad Cornelium ab Joppe." Again; "Ut ergo cresceret plebs, et multiplicaretur, omnibus inter initia concessum est, et evangelizare, et baptizare, et scripturas in ecclesia explanare." Such, we are told, "were the sentiments of a respectable member of the Roman presbytery in those days;" but we are not told, what was more certain, that this same Hilary attached himself to one of the most violent men of those days, Lucifer of Cagliari, and was so far from giving any countenance to the opinion, that *all* Christians had a right to administer the sacraments, that he zealously contended for the necessity of re-baptizing heretics, and all those whose baptism had been in any respect irregular; on which account, his contemporary Jerome sarcastically called him—*the Deucalion of the world.* All this, Dr. Campbell might have mentioned to his pupils, and should also have added, what immediately follows his last quotation, in these words—"Ubi autem omnia loca circumplexa est ecclesia, conventicula constituta sunt, et rectores, et cœtera officia in ecclesia ordinata sunt, ut *nullus de clero auderet, qui ordinatus non esset,* præsumere officium quod sciret non sibi creditum vel concessum; et cœpit alio ordine et providentia gubernari ecclesia, quia si omnes eadem possent, irrationabile esset, et vulgaris res et vilissima videretur."

or seasons." For by this observation, as connected with what goes before, and follows it, we are not to understand, that the sacrament of baptism was, at the beginning, administered by all Christians indiscriminately, but only that the writer of this account thought it was then administered, as occasion required, by all those, to whom he had been alluding, the *apostles*, *prophets*, *evangelists*, *pastors* and *teachers*, who St. Paul had said, " were given by the Lord, for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ." Whether Hilary was right or wrong, in supposing that those who were thus given for the service of the church, were called to it by the immediate impulse of the Holy Spirit, and not ordained by men, we need not stop to inquire, since, if the case really was so, there could be no doubt of their having sufficient authority for what they did, and no danger that what was done by them would not be deemed regular and valid by those who knew them to be acting under such divine influence.

Not satisfied, however, with resting the truth of his opinion on the authority of his favourite Hilary, which we see affords it at best but a very weak and questionable support, our Lecturer appeals next to the testimony of a writer a little more ancient, and whom he treats in the same way as he had treated his " respectable member of the Roman presbytery," by detaching a sentence or two, without giving the whole of the argument to which they refer. This writer is Tertullian, who, in his *Exhortation to Chastity*, inveighing against second marriages, and having proved, as he thought, that they were prohibited to the clergy, makes use of this argument for extending the prohibition to the laity, that the distinction which prevailed in his day between the priesthood and the people, must have been only of the church's making; for, says he, " where there is no meeting of the ecclesiastical order, thou offerest and baptizest, and art single a priest to thyself. But three

persons, though laymen, make a church,"* as Dr. Campbell renders this last sentence, and then adds—" It matters nothing to the present question, that his doctrine of the unlawfulness of second marriages is unreasonable; it matters nothing that his argument is inconclusive; we are concerned only with the fact, to which he refers as notorious;" —whereas the truth is, that instead of being a *fact* at all, it is merely an *inference* drawn from very absurd premises, to serve a particular purpose, and by the same author, who in his *Book on Baptism*, in answer to the question—Who may baptize? says—" The chief priest, who is the bishop, has the right of giving baptism, and after him the presbyters and deacons, but not without the bishop's authority."† In these words, it is plainly laid down, we might say, as " a notorious fact," not only, that there were these three orders in the church, of which the bishop was the chief, but also that even deacons or presbyters could not baptize, or of consequence perform any other ministerial acts, but by authority derived from him. The same author, in his *Prescriptions against Heretics*, says—" Among them a bishop to-day is not so to-morrow; a deacon to-day is a reader to-morrow; to-day a presbyter, a layman to-morrow; for they enjoin priestly offices even upon laymen:"‡ thus pointing out as one of the grossest irregularities prevalent among these heretics, what Dr. Campbell wishes to represent as a duty, which every private Christian, if capable, is *bound* to perform.

But of all the strange things advanced in this fourth lecture now under our consideration, that which must excite

* Tertullian's words are—" Adeo ubi ecclesiastici ordinis non est consessus, et offers, et tinguis, et sacerdos tibi solus. Sed ubi tres, ecclesia est, licit laici."

† His words are—" Dandi quidem jus habet summus sacerdos, qui est Episcopus, dehinc presbyteri et diaconi, non tamen sine Episcopi auctoritate."

‡ " Nam et laicis sacerdotalia munera injungunt."

the greatest degree of surprise, is his attempt to represent the *congregational* scheme of ecclesiastical polity, which he is so anxious to defend, as "conformable to the doctrine of the church of England."* In proof of this agreement, he brings forward the latter part of her twenty-third article, entituled—*Of ministering in the Congregation;* where it is said—"those we ought to judge lawfully called and sent, which be chosen, and called to this work, by men, who have public authority given unto them in the congregation, to call and send ministers into the Lord's vineyard. This," he says, "if it *mean* any thing, and be not a mere identical proposition, of which, I own, it has some appearance, refers us ultimately to that authority, *however modelled*, which satisfies the *people*, and is *settled among them.*" It is but fair, however, notwithstanding this ingenious and polite remark, to let the church of England speak for herself, as most likely to be the best interpreter of her own *meaning*. And if we turn to her thirty-sixth article, which our Lecturer has kept out of sight, because there can be no doubt as to what it *means*, we find her there declaring, that—"the book of consecration of archbishops and bishops, and ordering of priests and deacons, lately set forth in the time of Edward the VI. and confirmed at the same time by authority of parliament, doth contain all things necessary to such consecration and ordering; neither has it any thing that of itself is superstitious and ungodly. And, therefore, whosoever are, or shall be consecrated or ordered according to the rites of that book, we decree all such to be rightly, orderly and lawfully consecrated and ordered."

Now, the *preface* to that book, thus confirmed and sanctioned, (and which *preface* is as much a part of the doctrine of the church of England as the *thirty-nine articles*) runs in these terms, so plain, that they cannot be mistaken.

* Lecture iv.

"It is evident unto all men, diligently reading holy scripture, and ancient authors, that from the apostles' time there have been these orders of ministers in Christ's church, *bishops*, *priests* and *deacons*: Which offices were evermore had in such reverend estimation, that no man might presume to execute any of them except he were first called, tried, examined, and known to have such qualities as were requisite for the same; and also by public prayer, with *imposition of hands*, were approved, and *admitted thereunto by lawful authority*. And, therefore, to the intent that these orders may be continued, and reverently used and esteemed in the church of England, no man shall be accounted, or taken to be a lawful *bishop*, *priest* or *deacon* in the church of England, or *suffered to execute any of the said functions*, except he be called, tried, examined, and *admitted* thereunto, according to the *form hereafter following*, or hath had formerly *Episcopal consecration or ordination*." Had Dr. Campbell introduced into his lecture this *preface*, as well as her *twenty-third article*, he could not have easily brought his pupils to believe, even on his word, that the church of England "has not presumed to delineate the essentials of a Christian ministry, or to say any thing which could be construed to exclude those who are governed in a different manner from that in which she herself is governed."*

It was equally unfair in the learned Professor, not to tell his youthful audience, in explaining to them the doctrine of the church of England, that at the time when her *thirty-nine articles* were drawn up, the word *congregation* made use of in the *twenty-third article* had precisely the same signification as the word *church*, and was used with the same

* See Lecture iv. where Dr. Campbell has evidently borrowed from Mr. Anderson, of Dunbarton, who affirms—"that the 19th and 23d articles of the church of England are conceived in such general words, on purpose *that they might not be thought to exclude other churches that differ from them in point of government.*" Page 38 of the work already mentioned.

latitude. Indeed, the two terms were at that time considered so perfectly synonymous, that in the translation of the bible then used, Christ is called the "Head of the *congregation*, which is his body;" and is mentioned as saying to Peter—"On this rock I will build my *congregation*." To the same purpose we are told, that forty years after the drawing up of the thirty-nine articles, the word *congregation* was used in the canonical prayer before sermons, lectures and homilies, in which they were directed "to pray for the whole *congregation* of Christian people dispersed throughout the whole world."* Hence it is evident, that the meaning of the *article* in question is plainly this—"It is not lawful," that is —*by the law of God*, for "any man to take upon him the office of public preaching or ministering the sacraments in the congregation," or "*church of Christ*, before he be *thus* lawfully called and sent to execute the same. And those we ought to judge lawfully called and sent," *according to the law of God*, which be chosen "and called to this work, by men who have *thus* public authority given unto them in the congregation," or *church of Christ*, "to call and send ministers into the Lord's vineyard." The *lawfulness* of such public authority must mean its conformity to the *laws of God*, because the bishops and clergy assembled in convocation, who were the compilers of the articles, not being civil judges, had no right to declare what was lawful, by the laws of the land, or any temporal statutes, but only what they deemed to be lawful, according to the laws of God, laid down in scripture for the spiritual government of his church. And as the *twenty-third* article is sufficient to show the necessity of such a lawful commission, so the *thirty-sixth* article plainly declares that the persons invested with such commission, are the *bishops*, *priests* and *deacons*, who are duly consecrated and ordered, according to the rites of the book referred to in that article; and in which book the church of

* See Brett's *Divine Right of Episcopacy*, &c.

England, by her prayers to Almighty God, acknowledges her belief that every one of these orders was *appointed by his Holy Spirit*, and therefore was certainly of divine institution. Surely then we may now leave it with our readers to determine on what ground Dr. Campbell could be justified in saying, that the church of England has "avoided limiting the Christian ministry to one particular model."

Whether he has done justice to his own church in assigning the same doctrine and conduct to her, is a point which we are not called upon to decide; although we cannot help taking notice of the unnatural association which he endeavours to establish between the doctrine of the church of England, and that of the *Westminster Confession of Faith*, the authors of which, at the very time of compiling it, entertained such a mortal enmity against that church, that they had sworn in their *solemn league and covenant*, to "endeavour, without respect of persons, the extirpation of prelacy, with *all ecclesiastical* officers depending on that hierarchy." It cannot be difficult to perceive how far this *conduct* in the authors is entitled to the praise of "moderation," which our Lecturer bestows on the *doctrine* of his Westminster confession, "which," he says, "is of equal authority with us, as the thirty-nine articles are of in England;" and then, after quoting the following words from the 25th chapter of it, "Unto the catholic visible church, Christ has given the ministry, oracles and ordinances of God, for the gathering and perfecting of the saints in this life, to the end of the world;" he immediately adds—"And this is all that is said on the subject." We should suppose, however, that something more is said on the subject, when, in the 27th chapter of the same confession, we find these words—"There be only two sacraments ordained by Christ our Lord, neither of which may be dispensed by any but by a *minister of the word lawfully ordained.*" And if we wish to know how, in their judgment, a minister of the word is *lawfully ordained*, we

are referred, by a very sensible and spirited reviewer of Dr. Campbell's lectures, to the *form of presbyterial church government*, agreed upon by the assembly of divines at Westminster, and of equal authority with the *Confession of Faith*, where we shall find it decreed—that "every minister of the word be ordained by *imposition of hands*, and prayer, with fasting, by those *preaching presbyters* to whom it doth belong."*

The church of England, however, is well able to defend the doctrine of her own *articles* and *liturgy*.—With the *Westminster Confession of Faith* we have at present no concern, farther than to take notice of Dr. Campbell's very partial appeal to its decision. But there is another point, which he brings forward, as particularly applicable to those of the Episcopal persuasion in this country, and to which it behoves us, therefore, to direct our attention, with a view to defend ourselves from the imputation of inconsistency, in a matter of such importance. It is stated in the following words—"I shall add to these the doctrine of the Episcopal reformed church of Scotland, contained in a confession of faith ratified by law in this country in 1567; which, though set aside in the time of the civil wars, to make room for the Westminster confession, was re-enacted after the restoration, and continued in force till the abolition of prelacy at the revolution." In the very beginning of this statement we meet with an expression, which must appear a little ambiguous, and not easy to be understood, as made use of by a writer of Dr. Campbell's professional character.—When we look back to the date which he fixes for the legal ratification of this confession of faith, it is natural for us to ask, what he means, by saying, that "it contains the doctrine of the Episcopal reformed church of Scotland?" It was drawn up by those early reformers who called themselves "the congregation," of which the famous

* See the *Anti-Jacobin Review* for May, 1801, p. 21.

John Knox was the great leader and director: and we know, that in the Parliament which gave it a legal sanction, there were some *bishops*, and men of Episcopal principles. But could Dr. Campbell consistently acknowledge that these persons were on the *reforming* side, or had any leading hand in bringing forward this new confession, when such an acknowledgment would directly fly in the face of that fundamental article of the *claim of right*, which led to "the abolition of prelacy at the revolution," and declared "this to be one cause of" such abolition, that the "nation had reformed from popery by *presbyters?*"

We must, therefore, suppose, that our Lecturer's vague appellation of the "Episcopal reformed church of Scotland," can only be applicable to the state of that church at the time when she was regularly formed and constituted, according to the true Episcopal model. And on this supposition we need not wonder, that her *Confession of Faith* was set aside to make room for that of the *Westminster* reformers, who, no doubt, found their own *Confession* more suitable to the purpose of that "solemn league and covenant," by which they were bound to effect, if they could, the extirpation of prelacy, and every thing connected with it. But when our Professor thought proper to mention the "re-enacting of the former *confession* after the restoration," he should also have informed his students, that the act which restored the former Episcopal government, declared that government to be most "agreeable to the word of God." And if he had likewise taken notice that the re-enacting the *confession* alluded to, and "continuing it in force till the revolution," was a thing far from pleasing to the bishops of that period; it was no more than what plainly appeared from the jealousy which they expressed, in regard to the test act, as it was called, in 1681, which imposed this *confession* upon them, under a solemn oath, enforced by severe penalties. So great indeed was their alarm on that account, that some of them refused to

take the oath in the sense which was then put upon it by the enemies of the Episcopal establishment, till their scruples were removed by an explanatory *act of council*, declaring, that "though the confession of 1560, being framed in the infancy of the reformation, deserves due praise; yet they were not required to swear to every proposition or clause in it, but only to the true protestant religion contained there; and that in the *test* there is no encroachment upon the intrinsic spiritual power of the church, as exercised by the apostles, and the most pure and primitive church of the three first centuries; nor any danger from it to the Episcopal government of this national church, which is again declared to be most agreeable to the word of God."

But there would have been no occasion for our taking any notice of this old *confession*, if Dr. Campbell had not thought proper to make it the ground of a very contemptuous and unjust reflection, conveyed in these words—"I recur to it the rather," says he, "in order to show how much, on this article, the sentiments of our late nonjurors (for we have none of that description at present) differ from the sentiments of those whom they considered as their ecclesiastical predecessors, and from whom they derived their spiritual pedigree."* Here are several marks of distinction made use of, and all with a view to throw some reproach on the persons thus distinguished. They are said to have been *lately* nonjurors. But if they are not so *now*, was it fair to hold them up in such an offensive light? They considered themselves as having had "ecclesiastical predecessors;" and as that implies such a thing as "ecclesiastical succession," nothing more was necessary to expose them to ridicule, unless perhaps to brand such "succession" with the odious name of "spiritual pedigree." Yet, notwithstanding all this load of contempt

* Lecture iv.

laid on the *late* nonjurors; as they have still, it seems, successors, whom our Lecturer afterwards distinguishes by the title of the "Scotch Episcopal party," he should have considered how far they acknowledged the relation to which he alludes, before he involved them in the censure of "differing so much in their sentiments" from those, whom he, perhaps, not they, "considered as their ecclesiastical predecessors." He could not but know, that for many years after the reformation was begun in Scotland, various forms of ecclesiastical polity were adopted, one after another, and under as many different denominations. But did he ever hear, from sufficient authority, that any of these was acknowledged by the "late nonjurors," to have been the "Episcopal reformed church of Scotland?" Did he ever hear that the "Scotch Episcopal party," as he calls them, would expect to find their "ecclesiastical predecessors," in such times of tumult and confusion, as exhibited nothing like a regular, well-constituted national church? If we come down as far as to the year 1610, when the church of England gave her support in this country to the reformation, of which she has justly been called the bulwark, and contributed, as she again did in 1661, to the introduction of a real Episcopacy among us, we readily and gratefully look back to the bishops and clergy, who were thus duly "consecrated and ordered," as really and truly our ecclesiastical predecessors." But we go much higher up for the fountain of our "spiritual pedigree," however lightly and sarcastically that phrase may be used by some, deriving it, under Christ's authority, *from* his apostles, and only *through* these "predecessors," as the intermediate channels of conveyance, which have brought it regularly down to us.

From the sentiments of these our "ecclesiastical predecessors," on the article of church government, we have surely not departed. And though there were more ground than can be shown, for bringing such a charge against us,

it would come but awkwardly from one, whose sentiments, on this same article, differ so much as Dr. Campbell's evidently do differ from those of *his* "predecessors," if he would have allowed them to be so called, who, on obtaining their establishment in 1690, expressly declared—"that the presbyterian government was not only agreeable to the inclinations of the people, but likewise founded on the word of God, and therefore of divine right."* Yet this *divine right*, a minister and professor of that same establishment has rejected with disdain; and after telling his students, that what he had advanced on that subject "did not affect the lawfulness, or even, in certain circumstances, the expediency of the Episcopal model, it only exposed the arrogance of pretending to a *jus divinum*"—lest this should be thought applicable only to the Episcopal pretension, he immediately adds—"I am satisfied that *no* form of polity can plead such an exclusive charter, as that phrase, in its present acceptation, is understood to imply. The claim is clearly the offspring of sectarian bigotry and ignorance." Such is the language now used by those, who are enjoying the benefits originally procured by, what, it seems, must at last be called, the "sectarian bigotry and ignorance" of their predecessors.

Our Professor indeed had told his hearers, that though it was his purpose, in considering the question about the apostolic form of church government, "to proceed with all the candour and impartiality of which he was capable; yet he was to speak out boldly what appeared to him most probably to have been the case, without considering what sect

* Their great champion, Mr. Anderson, of Dunbarton, expressly declared it to be their "*firm belief*, that there is but one government by *divine right*, viz. the *presbyterian*;" and we find him drawing this conclusion at the end of his work—"Upon the whole, I conclude that the *presbyterian government* is of *divine* institution." See p. 37 and 341 of his *Defence of the Church Government, Faith, Worship and Spirit of the Presbyterians*, &c. printed at Glasgow 1714.

or party it might either offend or gratify."* With this resolution, he proceeds to the examination of the fact, and sets out with acknowledging, "that the apostles regularly established churches, and settled therein proper officers or ministers,† who were chiefly distinguished by the three terms—bishops or overseers, presbyters or elders, and deacons or attendants. Now, the doubts that have arisen are chiefly concerning the two first of these names—*bishops* and *presbyters;* and the question is, whether they are names for the same office, or for different offices."‡—And then he immediately adds—"This at least is the first question; for it must be owned, that there have been some strenuous advocates for the apostolical origin of Episcopacy, who have entirely given up the argument founded on the names." And when the argument is thus given up, there needs no longer be any question, *first* or *last*, about that on which it is founded.

The argument maintained by those who are advocates for the apostolical origin of Episcopacy, is not founded on names but things; and therefore the question is not whether the church officers, called *presbyters* or elders in the apostles' days, might not also be called *bishops* or overseers, as having the oversight or charge of a certain portion of the flock of Christ? but, whether in that character they had the apostolic power of ordaining others, and such authority to govern and direct the inferior overseers, as was evidently committed to the highest order of church officers, who were afterwards peculiarly distinguished by the title of *bishops?* In the passage quoted by Dr. Campbell from the *Acts* of the Apostles,‖ there can be no doubt that those who are called elders, or *presbyters* of the church, are also denominated overseers or *bishops*. But it does not hence follow that they had the power of ordination, or any such authority as was committed to Timothy,

* Lecture iv. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid. ‖ Acts xx. 17, 28.

when he was appointed to take charge of the church at Ephesus, as its proper bishop and governor. If we only observe the difference in the apostle's directions to him and to them, we need no other proof that these presbyters were not authorized to execute those offices, for discharging which Timothy had been purposely set over them. In St. Paul's admonitions to them, he puts them in mind of their duty as pastors, and warns them to "take heed to themselves, and to all that part of God's flock," as distinguished from the shepherds, which was entrusted to their care and oversight: Whereas in the charge given to Timothy, he is empowered to watch over, not the flock only, but the shepherds also, the subordinate clergy as well as the laity, in that part of the church committed to his inspection.—There were some things, which he was not only to "command and teach," but to charge others, that they should teach them also. Such as were proposed for the office of deacons, he was to prove and examine, and if found blameless, to admit them to it; that so, "by using the office of a deacon well, they might purchase to themselves a good degree," and in due time be found fit for a higher station in the church; even for discharging the duties of elders or presbyters. Against these presbyters, Timothy was directed to "receive no accusation, but before two or three witnesses: and them that sinned he was to rebuke before all, without preferring one before another," and, like an equitable judge, "doing nothing by partiality." In a word, he was charged to "lay hands suddenly on no man;" that so, by avoiding such rashness in exercising his power of ordination, he might not be a "partaker of other men's sins, but keep himself pure" from any such abuse of his authority. In this apostolic charge, then, we see delineated, in the most accurate manner, all the particulars, in which bishops have been considered, since the days of the apostles, as superior to presbyters; and he, who will not acknowledge Timothy to have been bishop at Ephesus,

may as well deny, that there have ever been bishops in any part of the world, or that there are at present twenty-six of that order in England.

But in answer to all this, our Lecturer holds up a part of St. Paul's account, and only one part of what the apostle says of Timothy's ordination. For—"in regard to the imposition of hands, which is considered," he says, "by *many*" (we would hope the Doctor himself was one of the many) "as a necessary attendant on ordination, we find this also attributed to the presbytery;"* as to which, we are told, but without any proof, that "all Christian antiquity concurs in affixing this name to what may be called the consistory of a particular church, or the college of its pastors:" therefore as Timothy was ordained by the laying on of the hands of this *presbytery*, or college of pastors, it could not have been to the office of a bishop, in the proper ecclesiastical sense of the word, since, according to Dr. Campbell, no such office was known in the church at that time. Yet he acknowledges, that "this is the only passage in the New Testament, in which the Greek word for *presbytery* is applied to a Christian council;" and if we may take the opinion of *Calvin*, as of equal weight with that of many of his followers, on the subject of presbyterian ordination, he expressly denies, that by the *presbytery* in this text, was meant a college of presbyters, and reads it, as if the apostle had said—"neglect not the gift of the office of a presbyter which was given thee by prophecy, with the laying on of hands." It has been thought by some, that as the apostles themselves were sometimes called elders or presbyters, therefore, a meeting of a certain number of them, for the ordination of Timothy, might properly enough be called the *presbytery*. But as St. Paul, in another place,† speaks of himself as the *sole* ordainer of Timothy, so there is a difference of expression in the two accounts

* 1 Tim. iv. 14. † 2 Tim. i. 6.

which he gives of this matter; and from the one it appears that Timothy was ordained *by* the putting on of the apostle's hands, to convey authority; and from the other, that this was done *with* the laying on of the hands of the presbytery, as a testimony of their approbation.* Having already admitted, that at the time when St. Paul wrote his several epistles, the elders or presbyters of the church were sometimes called *bishops*, or overseers of what was committed to their charge, we need hardly take notice of our Lecturer's "argument,† that there were but two orders of ministers then established, because Paul, in addressing the Philippians, expresses himself in this manner,—To all the saints at Philippi, with the bishops and deacons."‡ For if we should say, that they also had an apostle of their own, and, therefore, a bishop "in the proper and ecclesiastical sense of the word," it would be no more than what St. Paul said, when he told them, "I supposed it necessary to send to you Epaphroditus, my brother and companion in labour, and fellow soldier, but your apostle;"§ on which Jerome observes—"By degress, in process of time, others were *ordained apostles*, by those whom our Lord had chosen, as that passage to the Philippians shows, 'I supposed it necessary to send unto you Epaphroditus your apostle;" and Theodoret gives this reason why Epaphroditus is called the apostle of the Philippians—"He was entrusted with the Episcopal government, as being their bishop." The same

* The Greek preposition διὰ, signifies the means by which the authority was conveyed: the other preposition μετὰ, signifies no more than concurrence or approbation, such as is still given in the church of England, where the rubric directs, that "the bishop, with the priests present, shall lay their hands severally upon the head of every one that receiveth the order of priesthood.

† Lecture iv.

‡ It should rather be rendered, "with bishops and deacons"—as the original has not the restrictive articles.

§ Phil. ii. 25, where our translators have rendered it *messenger*.

writer tells us,* "those now called bishops, were anciently called apostles; but in process of time the name of apostle was left to them who were truly apostles, and the name of bishop was restrained to those who were anciently called apostles: thus Epaphroditus was the apostle of the Philippians, Titus of the Cretians, and Timothy of the Asiatics." —Yet Dr. Campbell asserts, that "Theodoret was very much puzzled† where to find the origin of the office of bishop, as the word in his time implied, when he imagined he discovered it in a phrase, which occurs but once in the New Testament,"‡ where St. Paul mentions his brethren, as the *apostles* of the churches. For we know that Barnabas, as well as Paul, was called an *apostle*, and we have seen Epaphroditus expressly mentioned as the *apostle* of the Philippians, to whom Theodoret made no scruple to join Timothy and Titus, as the *apostles* of their respective churches in Ephesus and Crete.

We have already taken notice of the Episcopal authority, which was certainly committed to Timothy as Bishop of the church at Ephesus; the evidence is equally clear and irrefragable for that of Titus in Crete; to the nature and design of whose commission, St. Paul refers in the plainest terms, when he tells him—"For this cause left I thee in Crete, that thou shouldest set in order the things that are wanting, and ordain elders or presbyters, in every city, as I had appointed thee."§ As the gospel was already planted in Crete, it may be presumed, that some presbyters had been ordained in it likewise; in which case, if they had power to ordain others, there was no occasion to leave Titus there for the same purpose, as such an inva-

* On 1 Tim. chap. iii.

† Not more puzzled than the Doctor himself was, where to find the origin of the power of his *presbytery*, when he was obliged to have recourse for it, to what he acknowledges to be the *only* passage in the New Testament, in which the word is applied to a Christian council.

‡ 2 Cor. viii. 23. § Titus i. 5.

sion of their office would have tended to promote strife and contention, rather than peace and good order.—But supposing that there were no presbyters in Crete, till Titus was left there for ordaining some; yet when he had ordained a few, he might have gone away and left them to "set in order every thing that was wanting;" to carry on all future ordinations, and govern the church by their own authority. Yet, instead of this, in consequence of the Episcopal power which had been committed to him, he is directed by St. Paul, not only "to ordain presbyters in every city," but also to "rebuke with all authority, to admonish heretics," and in case of their obstinacy, to "reject" them from the communion of the church. In all these respects, it is evident that the authority of Titus in the church of Crete, was the same as that of Timothy in the church of Ephesus. The same caution is enjoined to both in the important affair of ordination, whether of presbyters or deacons, and the same reason assigned for their being thus cautious, because "*the** bishop must be blameless,—as the steward of God;" and we know, it is a peculiar part of the steward's office to provide, inspect, and watch over the *inferior* servants of the family.

When we now look back to the clear and distinct account, which is given of the Episcopal authority in the Epistles of St. Paul to Timothy and Titus, and see these distinguished ministers of Christ exercising the power committed to them, for the edification and good government of the churches, over which they were appointed to preside, we cannot perceive any "species of vanity," far less any "evident falsehood" in those postscripts subjoined to the epistles, which style Timothy and Titus "the first ordained bishops, the one of the church of the Ephesians, and the other of that of the Cretians." Neither are we at all stag-

* Not *a* bishop, as our translators have rendered it, leaving out the restrictive article.

gered in our belief of the truth of these postscripts, by Dr. Campbell's asserting, that " Timothy and Titus were not made bishops till about *five** hundred years after their death,"† when we find so much unexceptionable evidence to the contrary.

But still our Lecturer insists, that they could " not be properly bishops, in the modern acceptation," because the powers with which they were invested, were conferred upon them, not as bishops, or fixed governors, but in their extraordinary and temporary character of *evangelists*. I shall not say, that such a man as Dr. Campbell would borrow this idea from writers of very inferior talents; but nothing is more certain, than its being one of the most hackneyed topics, even in the meanest publications, which the two last centuries produced against the apostolic institution of Episcopacy.‡ It is still more surprising, that such an idea should be adopted by the same author, who tells us, in another of his works, that the word from which the term *evangelist* is derived, " relates to the first information that is given to a person or people, that is, when the subject may be properly called *news*. Thus, in the Acts," he says, " it is frequently used for expressing the first publication of the gospel, in a city or a village, or amongst a particular people."‖ Nay, in the very lecture now before us, he acknowledges, that the word " denotes

* This word *five*, though not in the list of errata, has been said to be a mistake of the printer, and for *five*, it seems we should read *three;* which, to be sure, would lessen the error of the author a little as to the *date*, but could make no alteration, in our opinion, as to the *fact*, when we know so well that Timothy and Titus were certainly *made* bishops in their own lifetime, as well as evangelists.

† Lecture v.

‡ See Mr. Anderson's (of Dunbarton) *Defence*, &c. who affirms, as Dr. Campbell does, without any proof, that " Timothy and Titus were *extraordinary* officers, and, therefore, it cannot be thence inferred, that their superiority of power was designed to be perpetual." p. 104.

‖ See the *Preliminary Dissertations* prefixed to his " Translation of the Gospels," p. 293.

properly, to *preach*, or declare the good news, that is, the gospel, to those who had before known nothing of the matter."—It is evident then, that in his opinion, the disciples whom "Christ gave as evangelists, for the work of the ministry," must have been the persons employed, whatever was their character or station, in communicating the knowledge of the gospel to those to whom it was *news*, and who had never before heard of its glad tidings.—But how could Timothy and Titus be considered as *evangelists*, in this sense of the word, to the *churches* of Ephesus and Crete, where St. Paul himself had been preaching the gospel, before they were empowered to take charge of these churches; and in that of Ephesus, there had been elders expressly ordained for taking heed to the flock committed to their care, and feeding them with sound doctrine? It is true that Timothy was directed by St. Paul to do the work of an *evangelist*, or *preacher* of the gospel; but a *preaching* apostle or bishop was no such extraordinary character as to be invested, merely on that account, with a pre-eminence over the other overseers of the church at Ephesus. If it was not then as *evangelists*, that Timothy and Titus were entrusted with the inspection and government of the Ephesian and Cretian churches, it must have been as persons, in whom the apostolic commission was continued, with all the ordinary powers which were necessary for answering the purpose of that important commission.

But it has been pretended, by those who oppose the continuance of such an apostolic commission in the way of Episcopal succession, that the apostles themselves were ministers of the same extraordinary character as these evangelists, whose office was not to be continued any longer than the first publication of the gospel required. Following his predecessors in this beaten tract, Dr. Campbell has affirmed, that "the apostolate itself was one of those extraordinary offices which were in their nature temporary, and did not admit succession:" in support of which very

bold, if not extraordinary assertion, he brings forward several arguments, to which the "attention of his hearers is entreated."* First—he refers them for the character of an apostle, to the brief description given of it by St. Peter, as sufficient to show, that the office could be but temporary, and could have no existence after the extinction of that generation. The words which are supposed to show the "absurdity, as well as arrogance of modern pretenders,"† are those made use of, on occasion of the election of Matthias into the place of the traitor Judas, when Peter said—"Wherefore, of these men, which have companied with us all the time that the Lord Jesus went in and out among us, beginning from the baptism of John, unto the same day that he was taken up from us, must one be ordained to be a witness with us of his resurrection."‡ Is it possible, that our learned Lecturer could infer from these words, that the essence of the apostolic character consisted in "having seen Jesus Christ in the flesh after his resurrection,"—when we are assured, "that he was seen in the flesh of above five hundred brethren at once, after he rose from the dead," though at that time there were only eleven apostles?—And if he had requested the attention of his pupils to the nature of that commission, which these *eleven* received from their Lord and Master, with the promise subjoined to it, that he was to be with *them* always, even unto the end of the world, it must have been no easy matter, we should suppose, to convince those who firmly believed the truth of this promise, that the eleven apostles could have no successors, and their commission "no existence after the extinction of that generation."

His second argument, in support of this opinion, is laid down in these words—"The apostles were distinguished by prerogatives, which did not descend to any after them. Of this kind were—their receiving their mission immedi-

* Lecture v. † Ibid. ‡ Acts i. 21, 22.

ately from the Lord Jesus Christ,—the power of conferring, by imposition of hands, the miraculous gifts of the spirit, on whomsoever they would—and the knowledge they had, by inspiration, of the whole doctrine of Christ."* But if these " prerogatives did not descend to any after them," it was not because they constituted any essential part of the apostolic office, but only as they were qualifications peculiarly necessary for the discharge of that office, in laying the foundation of the Christian church, and propagating the Christian doctrine throughout the world. It was, no doubt, absolutely necessary, that the *first* apostles of the Christian church should " receive their mission immediately from Christ himself," because there was none else from whom they could receive it. But the same necessity could not be said to exist, when they, having once been " sent by Christ, even as the Father had sent him," had thereby received power to continue that mission in such a way, as that it might be regularly handed down to the end of the world. As to the miraculous powers, and inspired knowledge of divine truth, with which the eleven apostles were endued in such an eminent degree, it does not appear, that these marks of distinction, except perhaps in that eminence of degree, were peculiar to them; since we read of many others, who possessed the same power of working miracles, and the same extraordinary gifts of the spirit. The seven deacons were all " men full of the Holy Ghost, and wisdom;" and it is particularly mentioned of one of them, that " he did great wonders and miracles among the people," and that his adversaries " were not able to resist the wisdom, and the spirit, by which he spake."† It is evident then, that the apostolic office did not consist in the possession of these extraordinary privileges, which, at the first setting out of the gospel, for the sake of giving power and progress to it, were bestowed on

* Lecture v. † Acts vi. 8—10.

many others of inferior stations in the church.—These could not possibly preclude the apostles from having successors in that superior office, which, for answering all the ordinary purposes intended by it, was to be continued as long as the church itself should exist upon earth.

Yet our Lecturer gives it, as his third argument against such an apostolic succession, that "the mission of the apostles was of quite a different kind from that of any ordinary pastor. It was to propagate the gospel throughout the world, both among Jews and pagans, and not to take the charge of a particular flock. The terms of their commission are, Go and teach all nations: Again, Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature. No doubt they may be styled bishops or overseers, but in a sense very different from that in which it is applied to the inspector over the inhabitants of a particular district.—They were universal bishops; the whole church, or rather the whole earth, was their charge, and they were all colleagues one of another."* All this perhaps is true with respect to the general nature of their commission, although they might find it convenient, if not necessary, to assign to each a particular portion of the charge committed to them. It was the current report of antiquity, that they divided the earth among them; and to some such division, St. Paul seems to allude, where he says—"When James, Cephas, and John, who seemed to be pillars, perceived the grace that was given unto me, they gave to me and Barnabas the right hands of fellowship, that we should go unto the heathen, and they unto the circumcision."† The same St. Paul, who though not of the *eleven*, is yet acknowledged, as well as Matthias, to have been an apostle, assures us, that "he so strove to preach the gospel, not where Christ was named, lest he should build upon another man's foundation:"‡ And we have every reason to believe, that the

* Lecture v. † Gal. ii. 9. ‡ Rom. xv. 20.

other apostles conducted themselves in the same regular and orderly manner. No—says our Professor—" If they had limited themselves to any thing less than the world, it would have been disobedience to the express command they had received from their Master, to go into all nations, and to preach the gospel to every creature." But surely the obedience which they owed to this command, did not require that every individual among them should actually go into all nations; and that the gospel should be preached to every creature, by *each* of the eleven apostles, to whom the command was given. It was enough, that no nation was omitted, no creature neglected, by the apostles in general, but that, as St. Paul says of them, " their sound went into all the earth, and their words unto the ends of world."* But when this was accomplished by their common and united efforts, there was nothing to hinder them from exercising their apostolic authority over the churches, which they had respectively planted, till they should find proper persons, or " faithful men,"† as St. Paul calls them, on whom they might devolve the same authority, with power to transmit it from age to age, or in the words of their Lord's promise—" even unto the end of world."

As another objection, however, to this plan of apostolic succession, our Lecturer brings forward his fourth and last argument, which he states in these words—" As a full proof that the matter was thus universally understood, both in their own age and in the times immediately succeeding, no one, on the death of an apostle, was ever substituted in his room; and when that original sacred college was extinct, the title became extinct with it."‡ But what signifies the extinction of the title? Might not the same official powers be continued under different titles? To take another similitude from temporal things; are we not accustomed to hear of the supreme civil power being enjoyed in one country

* Rom. x. 18. † 2 Tim. ii. 2. ‡ Lecture v.

by a *King*, in another by an *Emperor*, and in a third, very lately, by a *First Consul;* while each of these titles denotes a person possessed of supreme, and therefore very similar authority? Dr. Campbell could not but know the reason why, as well as the time when, the title of *apostle* was laid aside, and that of *bishop* substituted in its place. Though he had quoted Theodoret, to expose the folly of his imagining those to be bishops whom St. Paul described as "the apostles of the churches," he should yet have recollected, that the same Theodoret mentions their successors, as humbly abstaining from the name of apostles, and contenting themselves with that of bishops; a title expressive of the care, attention and vigilance, which their office required.—To what purpose then was our author's remark, that "on the death of an apostle, no one was ever substituted in his room," if by no one he means no apostle? And that this was his meaning, is evident from the pains he has taken to show, that neither "the election of Matthias by the apostles, nor the subsequent admission of Paul and Barnabas to the apostleship, formed any exception to what had been advanced; for they came not as successors to any one, but were specially called by the Holy Spirit as apostles, particularly to the Gentiles."* And if they came with apostolical powers, we are ready to admit, that it is of no consequence whether "they came as successors to any one" or not; since the point in question is not, whether there should be now just *twelve bishops* in the whole Christian church, and each of them able to trace his succession from some individual apostle; but whether in that portion of every regularly constituted church called a diocese, there always has been, from the days of the apostles to the present time, some ecclesiastical person, so far possessed of the apostolic commission and character, as to have authority to ordain and superintend the presbyters and deacons

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under his spiritual jurisdiction, and to assist in preserving and continuing his own Episcopal order, as also in whatever else is necessary to the care and good government of the particular national church to which he belongs? Now, the admission of Paul and Barnabas to the office of apostles, after the number *twelve* was completed, settles this point, so far as it proves, that the apostolic office was not limited to those "who companied with the *eleven* all the time that the Lord Jesus went in and out among them," and, therefore, was not such as necessarily "became extinct," when, as our Lecturer expresses himself—"that original sacred college was extinct."—On the contrary, we see an addition made to it in the case now before us; and though he tells us that "Paul and Barnabas were specially called by the *Holy Spirit* as apostles," thereby making a distinction, and marking a difference, as it were, between their apostleship, and that which, he had said, was "received immediately from the *Lord Jesus Christ*," yet St. Paul himself, who best knew how this matter stood, assures us, that "he was an apostle, not of men, neither by man, but by Jesus Christ, and God the Father;"* which not only points to the manner in which he himself was called to the apostleship by the *Lord Jesus Christ*, but at the same time clearly shows, that when he wrote his Epistle to the Galatians, there were in the church, apostles, who had been ordained to their office by the ministry of man. Such, we have seen, was Epaphroditus, whom St. Paul calls the *apostle* of the Philippians.† Such, undoubtedly, were Timothy and Titus, and those brethren who are distinguished as "apostles of the churches, the glory of Christ."‡

* Gal. i. 1.

† Dr. Campbell's man of discernment—Hilary the deacon, in his Commentary on the second chapter of the Epistle to the Philippians, says expressly, that Epaphroditus was constituted their apostle by St. Paul himself: His words are, "Erat enim eorum apostolus, ab apostolo factus."

‡ 2 Cor. viii. 23.

Where then could our Lecturer have learned, or how could he pretend to teach his pupils, that the apostolical office, founded on the commission given by our Lord to the eleven apostles, "was one of those extraordinary offices, which were in their nature temporary, and did not admit succession?" There was a school, in which this lesson was taught, but from which we can hardly suppose that such a man as Dr. Campbell would have imbibed the sentiments he has avowed on this subject. Yet, when we observe one of the most strenuous advocates for the papal supremacy positively asserting, that "bishops are not properly the successors of the apostles, because the apostles were not ordinary, but extraordinary pastors, such as, from the nature of their delegation, could have no successors,"* we cannot easily refrain from expressing our surprise at such a striking coincidence in opinion, between the popish cardinal, and the presbyterian professor; and from this, and other instances of a similar nature, we might be inclined to suspect, that between popery and presbytery, the difference, in many things, is not so great as is generally imagined.

From considering the nature of the apostolic office, as admitting no succession, and the peculiar business of the other extraordinary ministers called evangelists, as exemplified in Timothy and Titus, our author passes, by a natural transition, to what he terms, the "only one other plea of any consequence in favour of the apostolical antiquity of

* See Cardinal Bellarmine—De Rom. Pont. lib. iv. cap. 24—whose words are these—"Episcopi non succedunt propriè apostolis, quoniam apostoli non fuerunt ordinarii, sed extraordinarii, et quasi delegati pastores quibus non succeditur." To this authority Mr. Anderson, of Dunbarton, seems to have referred, when, combating the argument in favour of Episcopacy, drawn from a succession in the apostolate, he observed —"The church of Rome, a society of a very large extent, of a long standing, and such as has produced not a few wise and great men, expressly contradict it, denying that any of the apostles had successors, save Peter, in the papal chair." See his *Defence*, &c. p. 90.

Episcopacy; and which he reserved for the last, because it affords an excellent handle for inquiring into the real origin of subordination among the Christian pastors. The plea he means is taken from the Epistles to the seven Asian churches in the apocalypse, addressed to the angels of these churches severally, and in the singular number; to the angel of the church of Ephesus, and so of the rest."* At his first setting out on this inquiry, he seems at a loss what account to give of the peculiar mode of address made use of in these Epistles, but is extremely unwilling to acknowledge that any inference can be drawn from it in favour of Diocesan Episcopacy. This, he thinks, would be contrary to every just rule of interpretation; and yet he appears to be equally dissatisfied with what he says is "maintained by some zealous patrons of the Presbyterian model," that by the *angel* is meant, according to the allegorical style, that consistory of elders, called the *Presbytery*, which, the better to show the union that ought to subsist among the members, is here emphatically considered and addressed as one person. Between these two interpretations, which have respectively distinguished the Episcopalian and the Presbyterian party, he chooses to steer a middle course, and to adopt, what he calls an intermediate opinion, as appearing to him much more probable than either of the other two. "His sentiment, therefore, is, that, as in their consistories and congregations, it would be necessary, for the sake of order, that one should preside, both in the offices of religion, and in their consultations for the common good, it is their president or chairman, that is here addressed under the name of angel."—This opinion he afterwards illustrates, by comparing his chairman to the "speaker of the House of Commons, and to the prolocutor of either house of convocation in England, or the moderator of an ecclesiastical judicatory in Scotland." The first

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of these comparisons is rather unlucky, as the appointment of the speaker depends on the will of the Sovereign, and, therefore, implies the acknowledgment of a *superior:* And the other two offices, being of a temporary nature, were not properly adapted to the design of his comparison, unless he had, or could have shown, that these apocalyptic bishops ever descended from their station, and became common members of the presbytery, as he knew to be always the case with his moderators.

It is indeed true, that the epistles addressed to the angels mentioned in the first three chapters of the book of the Revelation of St. John, were intended for the use of those churches, of which these angels are represented as the directors and governors. There can be no ground to suppose that the churches themselves were meant by the angels, when the distinction between them is so plainly laid down in these words, as descriptive of the mystery:—"The seven stars are the angels of the seven churches, and the seven candlesticks, which thou sawest, are the seven churches."* Both being thus distinguished by their proper emblems, the angels could not be the churches, nor any select number, or collective body of men, because they are constantly mentioned as single persons, and by a title, which was well known to bear the same meaning as that of apostle. Both are applied to signify a messenger of God: an *apostle* as one sent or commissioned to carry his message, an *angel* as employed in telling or declaring that message. The name of angel, therefore, was very properly applied to those who immediately succeeded the apostles, in their office of preaching or publishing God's will to the church; and when St. Paul was employed in preaching the gospel to the Galatians, he says, "they received him as an angel of God."† This plainly shows that these angels were not only single persons, but entrusted also with the care

* Rev. i. 20. † Gal. iv. 14.

and government of the several churches, of which they were called the angels: which will still appear more clearly, if we consider the subject of the Epistles addressed to them, and the characters, which are there given of them. On account of the authority committed to them, we find them praised for all the good, and blamed for all the evil, which happened in their churches.—The angel of the church of Ephesus is commended, because "he could not bear them that were evil, and had tried those who said they were apostles, and were not so." Having called them to account, and examined their pretentions, he found them to be no other than "liars," and impostors, and therefore executed the discipline of the church against them; in doing which, he receives approbation for discharging his duty. The angel of the church in Pergamos is reproved for not severely censuring, as they deserved, those who were guilty of wicked and idolatrous practices; from which it is evident, that he had authority to correct such disorders. And the same may be said of the angel of Thyatira, who is blamed for "suffering Jezebel, who called herself a prophetess, to teach and seduce the servants of Christ," and so lead them into the basest idolatry. The angel of Sardis is commanded to be "watchful, and to strengthen those who were ready to die;" otherwise our Lord threatens to "come on him as a thief, and at an hour which he should not know;" plainly alluding to what he had formerly said to those "stewards, whom he had made rulers over his household, to give them their meat in due season."

All this is abundantly sufficient to show the office, station and authority of the angels of the seven churches, and that we need not scruple to call them, with St. Augustine, and other ancient fathers, "the bishops and presidents of these churches."* If they had not been clothed with that cha-

* See this matter fully handled in *An History of the Government of the Primitive Church, &c.* by Francis Brokesby, B. D. of Cambridge, and

racter, it would be difficult to reconcile the charges given to them by St. John in the name of Christ, with that principle of equity, by which we are sure all the divine proceedings ever have been and always will be guided. If the angels of the Asiatic churches had been invested with no more permanent power than what is committed to the moderator of a presbytery under the Scotch establishment, it would have been hard indeed to require more of them than their office allowed them to perform, or to condemn them for not doing what they had no right or authority to do. This would be considered as such flagrant severity and injustice in any human judicatory, that we cannot possibly suppose the most distant tendency towards it, in *his* divine administration, who is King of kings, and Lord of lords, and as "Judge of all the earth, will certainly do right." But if the angels addressed by St. John had really the same authority over the seven churches of Asia that was committed to Timothy and Titus, in those of Ephesus and Crete: if these angels, apostles, or bishops, had each of them a right, in virtue of his apostolic commission, to take cognizance of false and heretical doctrine, to admonish the heretic, and in case of his obstinate contempt of such admonition, to reject him from the communion of the church: if to these angels only pertained the power of ordaining presbyters and deacons in the several churches committed to their care, and when ordained, of appointing their services, inspecting their conduct, and seeing that every thing was done decently, and so as to promote order and edification: If such were the Episcopal powers committed to these angels of the Asiatic churches, which, we have already seen, had been committed to Timothy in Ephesus, and

in *A Discourse of Church Government, &c.* by Dr. Potter, who has shown, from the most early accounts of the primitive church, that bishops were settled in all the seven churches of the Proconsular Asia, of which Ephesus was the metropolis, at or near the time when these Epistles were written by St. John, and sent to the angels, or bishops, of these churches.

Titus in Crete, the careful performance of the duties arising from such an important trust would, no doubt, procure the praise of their heavenly Master; while inattention and negligence, neither reproving what was wrong, nor rebuking the wicked, nor expelling the incorrigible, would as certainly expose them to the just reprehension of that divine Lord, who had employed his servant John thus to point out their duty, and do the same good office to the bishops of the seven churches in Asia, that St. Paul had done before to those of Ephesus and Crete.

Our Lecturer, indeed, after all he had said to show the resemblance between St. John's *bishops* in Asia, and his own *moderators* in Scotland, acknowledges, that his opinion "is only the most likely conjecture of all he has seen on this article, which, he owns, does not admit so positive a proof as might be wished." And yet, from proof so imperfect, and evidence merely conjectural, he infers, without the least hesitation, that "it was doubtless the distinction of one pastor in every church, marked by this apostle, though not made by any who had written before him, which has led Tertullian, whose publications first appeared but about a century after the apostles, to consider him as the institutor of Episcopacy."* To prove that this was Tertullian's opinion, his words are quoted in Latin, with the translation given of them by Bingham, in his *Antiquities of the Christian Church*,† which is called "a palpable misinterpretation of our antiquary," as by this version, according to our author, "Bingham avoids showing, what is extremely plain from the words, that Tertullian did not think there was any subordination in the pastors of the churches instituted by the other apostles."‡ But this, perhaps, would not

* Lecture v. † Book II. chap. i. § 3.

‡ Tertullian's words are, as taken by themselves in Dr. Campbell's quotation, "Ordo tamen Episcoporum ad originem recensus in Joannem stabit auctorem:" (lib. iv. adv. Marcionem) which Bingham translates thus: "The order of bishops, when it is traced up to its original, will

have appeared so "extremely plain" as Dr. Campbell thought it, had he not omitted the first clause of the sentence, with which the words he has quoted have a necessary and evident connection. In his controversy with Marcion, who rejected part of the New Testament canon, Tertullian had been proving the novelty of this heretic's opinions, from his being unable to show any church that embraced them, which could deduce its original by a descent of bishops from the apostles; which was evidently the case with those churches, in which the sound apostolic doctrine was still retained. For "let us see," says he, "what milk the Corinthians drew from Paul, by what rule the Galatians were reclaimed, what the Philippians, Thessalonians and Ephesians read, what, likewise, our neighbour Romans say, to whom both Peter and Paul left the gospel sealed with their blood.—We have also churches founded by John,* for though Marcion rejects his apoca-

be found to have St. John for one of its authors." This Dr. Campbell proves to be a "palpable misinterpretation," by the following argument. Had Tertullian said—"Mundus ad originem recensus, in Deum stabit creatorem," would Bingham have rendered it—"The world, when it is traced up to its original, will be found to have God for one of its creators? I cannot allow myself to think it. Yet the interpolation, in rendering *creatorem* one of its creators, is not more flagrant than in rendering *auctorem* one of its authors." This reflection we cannot help thinking too severe, if not *flagrantly* unjust. For Bingham knew well, that Tertullian did not allow colleagues to God, as creator of the world; but that he very well might assign, and had actually assigned colleagues to John, as author of Episcopacy. And as the Latin language has no restrictive article, we must be regulated by the context, in rendering *auctorem* either *an* author, thereby with Bingham admitting other authors, or *the* author, with Dr. Campbell, thereby restricting the sense to one, which certainly was not Tertullian's meaning, as is evident from the connection of this quotation with the preceding part of the passage from which it is taken.

* Habemus et Joannis alumnas ecclesias: Nam etsi apocalypsim ejus Marcion respuit, ordo *tamen* Episcoporum ad originem recensus, in Joannem stabit auctorem; where the word *tamen* evidently shows that the passage must have a connection with what goes immediately before.

lypse, yet the order or succession of bishops in these churches, when traced up to its original, will be found to have John for its author," as being the ordainer of the first bishops in the churches which he had planted.

This, though a kind of paraphrase of his words, is evidently Tertullian's meaning, and agrees exactly with what he says on the same subject in another of his works, which we have already had occasion to mention, his "Prescriptions against Heretics," where he challenges them to "produce the originals of their churches, and show the order of their bishops so running down successively from the beginning, as that every first bishop among them, shall have had for his author and predecessor, some one of the apostles, or apostolic men, who continued with the apostles. For in this manner the apostolic churches bring down their registers; as the church of Smyrna from Polycarp placed there by John, the church of Rome from Clement ordained by Peter; and so do the rest prove their apostolic original, by exhibiting those who were constituted their bishops by the apostles."* Here we see not only Tertullian mentioning the circumstance of Peter ordaining Clement at Rome, as well as John placing Polycarp at Smyrna, both of whom have been always called bishops; but that the rest of the churches also had bishops constituted by the apostles; and he expressly gives the very appellation of "author" to every apostle, or apostolic man, who had founded churches any where. Had Dr. Campbell acted fairly with his "young friends, whom he had just before been warn-

* Tertullian's words are these: "Edant ergo origenes ecclesiarum suarum; evolvant ordinem Episcoporum suorum ita per successiones ab initio decurrentem, ut primus ille Episcopus aliquem ex apostolis, vel apostolicis viris, qui tamen cum apostolis perseveraverint, habuerit auctorem, et antecessorem; hoc enim modo ecclesiæ apostolicæ census suos deferunt, sicut Smyrnæorum ecclesia habens Polycarpum ab Joanne conlocatum refert; sicut Romanorum Clementem a Petro ordinatum edit; proinde utique et ceteræ exhibent, quos ab apostolis in Episcopatum constitutos, apostolici seminis traduces habeant." De præscript. C. 32.

ing to revere truth above all things, wherever they found it, and be always open to conviction," he would have laid before them this passage, which I have now quoted, as well as the other, and left them to determine for themselves, without " prejudice or prepossession, whether there was any good ground to conclude, that Tertullian " considered the apostle John as *the* institutor of Episcopacy." And yet, had the case been really so, the cause of Episcopacy could have received no harm from it, when we find even this learned adversary acknowledging it to be " more likely, that John, in the direction of the Epistles to the seven churches, availed himself of a distinction, which had subsisted from the beginning, than that either the church was new-modelled by this apostle, or that the different apostles adopted different plans."* This last supposition, indeed, appears to us so very unlikely, we might even say incredible, that we have no scruple to rest the institution of Episcopacy on the ground which is here assigned to it; because we are certain that all the apostles modelled the church on one and the same plan, even on the plan of that *distinction*, which had subsisted from the beginning, and always " implied" that very " difference in order and power," which our Professor was so unwilling to acknowledge, and laboured so earnestly to make his pupils disbelieve.

In the course of these labours, we have now followed him through such of his lectures as seem to have more immediate reference to the authority of scripture, in ascertaining the original constitution and government of the Christian church: a subject on which the inspired writers give us as much clear information as is perfectly sufficient to guide us aright, if we will be directed by it in this inquiry; and " from which," it is our opinion, " that we can with certainty form a judgment concerning the entire

* Lecture v.

model of the apostolic church." Dr. Campbell, however, thinks otherwise, and represents those passages of scripture which have a reference to this important subject, in a light very different from that in which the friends of Episcopacy have been taught to view them. To whom then shall we have recourse, as most likely to point out where the truth lies between such jarring opinions? To whom indeed can we apply for direction in judging of a matter of fact, such as the apostolic constitution of the church, but to those contemporary or early writers, who, "as to what depends on *testimony*," in explaining any part of scripture which is thought to be doubtful, "are in every case, wherein no particular passion can be suspected to have swayed them, to be preferred before modern interpreters or annotators?" This is the account which, in a work published by himself,* Dr. Campbell gives of the credit that is due to those who are called the fathers of the church; and then he adds—"I say not this, to insinuate that we can rely more on their integrity, but to signify, that with them many points were a subject of *testimony*, which, with modern critics, are matter merely of *conjecture*, or, at most, of abstruse and critical discussion. And every body must be sensible, that the direct testimony of a plain man, in a matter which comes within the sphere of his knowledge, is more to be regarded than the subtile conjectures of an able scholar, who does not speak from knowledge, but gives the conclusions he has drawn from his own precarious reasonings, or from those of others."

After such a concession in favour of the fathers, limited as it is in some points, we shall most readily listen to their evidence in the case before us, being well assured, that the government of the church under which they lived, was a matter that "came within the sphere of their knowledge," and that we cannot possibly suspect all the Christian wri-

* See his Preliminary Dissertations, &c. p. 106, 107.

ters of that character, to have been "swayed by any particular passion," to give a false account of what must have been generally well known, and in a case where the falsehood could have been so easily detected.

The first of these "ancient testimonies," which our Lecturer brings forward, is taken, he says, "from the most respectable remains we have of Christian antiquity, next to the inspired writings;" and then adds,* "The piece I allude to is the first Epistle of Clemens Romanus to the Corinthians, as it is commonly styled, but as it styles itself, the Epistle of the church of God at Rome, to the church of God at Corinth:"—From which inscription of the epistle, Dr. Campbell would no doubt infer, as *Blondel* had done before him,† that at the time when it was written, both the church of Rome and that of Corinth were governed by a college of presbyters, or rather by the people at large; since the whole church at Rome wrote to the whole church at Corinth, without making any distinction between clergy and laity.—Yet Blondel could not but know, that such a distinction is expressly mentioned in the epistle itself; and his follower, Dr. Campbell, is at no small pains to show, that the passage in which it is so mentioned, being "introduced by Clemens, when speaking of the Jewish priesthood, and not of the Christian ministry, affords no foundation for the distinction that was long after his time introduced." How far this reasoning is just, will appear from considering the purpose, for which the Jewish priesthood is spoken of on this occasion, and the situation of those on whom St. Clement thus presses the necessity of ecclesiastical subordination.

* Lecture iv.

† Yet Blondel acknowledges that this very Clement was generally believed to have been the second bishop after St. Peter in the church of Rome.—His words are, "Plerique Latinorum (Hieronymo teste) secundum post Petrum fuisse putaverunt, ut ante annum domini 65 ad Romanæ ecclesiæ clavum sedisse necesse sit." Apologia pro Sent. Hieron. p. 9.

A fresh spirit of schism and division had broke out in the church at Corinth, similar to that which St. Paul was obliged to repress, when he wrote his first Epistle to the Corinthians: And now his fellow labourer, St. Clement, making use of some of the powerful arguments which the apostle had formerly urged, brings the matter home to the point in question, by showing how the members of the church at Corinth ought all to conduct themselves in a quiet and peaceable manner, each within his proper station; thus humbly imitating the order and harmony which prevailed in the Jewish church, the instituted type or figure of the church of Christ. "Seeing then," says St. Clement, that "these things are manifest unto us, it will behove us to take care, that looking into the depths of the divine knowledge, we do all things in order, whatsoever our Lord has commanded us to do: and particularly, that we perform our offerings and service to God, at their appointed seasons —and by the persons that minister unto him. For the chief priest has his proper services, and to the priests their proper place is appointed, and to the Levites belong their proper ministrations (or deaconships), and the layman is confined within the bounds of what is commanded to laymen. Let every one of you, brethren, bless God in his proper station, not exceeding the rule that is appointed to him." When we consider the scope and design of this passage, we must be convinced, that though the venerable writer is speaking of the economy of the Jewish church, it is only in the way of allusion, and for drawing the necessary inference, with regard to the Christian ministry. But neither the allusion would have been proper, nor the inference just, if the distinctions of ecclesiastical order in the Christian church had not corresponded to those in the Jewish, as they are here described by St. Clement, for the sake of pointing out the resemblance, and showing the proper conclusion which was to be drawn from it.

Yet our Professor endeavours to make this ancient author

contradict himself, by quoting a passage from him, in which, as he thinks, the orders of the Christian ministry are represented as but two, and so not the same in number with those of the Jewish. It was for the same purpose that Blondel made use of this passage, in which St. Clement says—that "the apostles having preached the gospel through countries and cities, constituted the first fruits of their conversions, whom they approved by the spirit, bishops and deacons of those who should believe:" From which words it is inferred, that the apostles, in planting churches through countries and cities, ordained but two orders to take care of them.* And may it not then be asked, what were the *ordainers themselves?* Were they of no order in the church? Or were they of the same order with either of these whom they ordained? From the answer that must be given to these question, it is evident that there were three orders in the church, at the time when the apostles ordained the two inferior orders, whom St. Clement, in the current language of the apostolic age, calls bishops and deacons, and thereby alludes to a text, which he quotes from Isaiah,† as rendered in the Greek translation—"I will constitute their bishops in righteousness, and their deacons in faith." Whether this be a just translation, or a proper application of the prediction, Dr. Campbell acknowledges is not the question.—"It is enough," he says, "that it evinces what Clement's notion was of the established ministers then in the church." And his notion, we have no doubt, was the same with what we have seen prevailed at the time when he wrote this Epistle to the Corinthians; that under the apostles, the care or

* See the same inference drawn, and the very same reasoning made use of to support it, in *An Enquiry into the Constitution, &c. of the Primitive Church*, which was so completely answered in *An Original Draught of the Primitive Church*, by a presbyter of the church of England, that it is said to have brought over the *Enquirer* to this author's opinion.

† Isaiah lx. 17.

oversight of certain portions of the flock of Christ was committed to inferior overseers and ministers, whom we have called bishops and deacons, till it was thought proper to put them under the government of persons invested with apostolical power, such as Clemens himself possessed and exercised in the church of Rome, of which he is always distinguished as *bishop*, and by another writer of the same name, Clemens of Alexandria, is expressly called the "apostle Clemens."* This is all that can be justly inferred from the passage of his epistle, quoted by Dr. Campbell; which was not at all intended to point out particularly the number of orders in the church; and could no more be considered as setting aside the superior rank and authority of bishops, than the common language of both Jewish and Christian writers could be understood as excluding the high priest, when they mentioned the Jewish ministry under the general appellation of priests and Levites.†

The next testimony which our author produces, to show that, in the primitive times, there were only two orders of ministers in the church, is that of Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, who is said by Irenæus to have been taught by the apostles, and to have conversed with many, who had seen our Saviour; to which account it is added, that Irenæus himself had seen him, in his younger days, and knew him to have been constituted bishop of Smyrna by the apostles. One might suppose, that when the adversaries of Episcopacy bring forward such a witness as this in support of their cause, they had certainly discovered in his writings, some clear, undoubted evidence, on which might be justly founded the irrejection of the Episcopal order. But, in-

* Strom. lib. iv.

† In some parts of the English liturgy the clergy are prayed for under the twofold distinction of "*bishops* and *curates*." But no person will hence infer, that the church of England has but *two* orders of clergy, when she has so carefully provided for the "making, ordaining and consecrating of *bishops*, *priests*, and *deacons*."

stead of this, all that we meet with in his Epistle to the Philippians, is a very brief intimation of "their being subject to the presbyters and deacons, as unto God and Christ; while, at the same time, the very introduction to the epistle marks the superior character of the writer, in these words —"Polycarp, and the presbyters that are with him, to the church of God which is at Philippi."* And if only the presbyters and deacons of that church are mentioned in the words quoted by Dr. Campbell,† it might be owing to the Episcopal charge being vacant at the time when this epistle was written, as was the case at Rome, when Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, wrote his letters to the presbyters of that place. But what shall we say of our Lecturer's asserting it, as "evident from the above quotation, that Polycarp knew of no Christian minister superior to the presbyters," when, together with his own, he earnestly recommended, and actually sent to the Philippians, at their desire, those very epistles of Ignatius, in which the office and the duties of a bishop, as distinguished from those of the presbyters, are so fully and frequently insisted on, that Polycarp might well think it unnecessary for him to say any thing farther on that subject? Being himself a bishop, and writing in that character to the Philippians, he might justly consider the epistles of Ignatius, which they were so desirous to see, as perfectly sufficient to establish the regard which was due to the Episcopal office, especially as one of these epistles was

* If the author of this epistle had not been distinguished by a superior dignity of office, we could hardly suppose it consistent with his modesty and self-denial, to have named himself only, and made no mention of his brethren, but by the general name of presbyters: A circumstance, which obliged even Blondel to make the following remark—"Id tamen in S. Martyris epistola peculiare apparet, quod eam privatim suo et presbyterorum nomine ad Philippensium fraternitatem dedit, ac sibi quandam supra presbyteros—υπεροχην reservasse videtur, ut jam tum in Episcopali apice constitutum reliquos Smyrnensium presbyteros gradu superasse conjicere liceat." Apol. p. 14.

† Lecture iv.

addressed to himself as bishop of Smyrna, and another of them to the church of that place, exhorting them to be obedient to their bishop, and to do nothing of what belongs to the church without his consent.

Indeed, the epistles of Ignatius bear such strong undeniable evidence to the existence of three distinct orders in the Christian ministry, known by the name of bishops, presbyters and deacons, that there is no possibility of evading the force of this positive testimony, but by boldly affirming, that the epistles themselves are spurious, or have been so interpolated by various transcribers, as to leave but a very small, if any degree of credit due to them. This has been the pretence, in one shape or other, of all the advocates for presbyterian parity, from the days of Calvin down to Dr. Campbell; and we have only to take notice of the same arguments, dressed out perhaps in different forms, according to the taste and ability of the several writers, who have presumed to attack those venerable remains of ecclesiastical antiquity contained in the epistles of St. Ignatius.—It is very suitable, however, to our present design, to show all proper attention to what has been said on this subject; and we shall begin with observing, that Ignatius, bishop of Antioch, having presided over that church with admirable prudence and constancy, for almost forty years, was at last condemned to suffer death, about the tenth year of the reign of the Emperor Trajan, and on the way to his martyrdom at Rome, wrote his epistles to the several churches to which they are addressed. That some such epistles were written by Ignatius, is evident from the account, to which we have just now referred, as given by Polycarp in his Epistle to the Philippians, in which he tells them—"The epistles of Ignatius, which he wrote unto us," (that is, to himself, and to the church at Smyrna) "together with what others of his have come to our hands, we have sent to you, according to your order, which are subjoined to this epistle; by which ye may be greatly profited; for they treat

of faith, and patience, and of all things that pertain to edification in the Lord Jesus."* To this account from Polycarp, we may add that which is given by his disciple Irenæus, bishop of Lyons, who, as Eusebius assures us, "was not ignorant of the martyrdom of St. Ignatius, and mentions his epistles in these words—Thus one of our brethren being condemned for maintaining the faith, to be exposed to the wild beasts, said—I am the wheat of God, and shall be ground by the teeth of wild beasts, that I may be found the pure bread of Christ."† Which words, thus quoted by Irenæus, are found in the epistle of St. Ignatius to the Romans. To this undoubted testimony, may be added that of Origen, who was born before Irenæus died, and has left us two quotations from the epistles of Ignatius, which are both to be found in our present copies. And Eusebius, in his ecclesiastical history,‡ gives us a full account of these epistles, and tells us where the holy martyr wrote them.

Such are the testimonies, which, together with those of Athanasius, Jerome, and many others, serve to prove, that the epistles of Ignatius, as published by archbishop Usher, in an ancient Latin version, and soon after by Isaac Vossius in the original Greek, from a manuscript in the Florentine library, are undoubtedly the genuine epistles of that primitive martyr: a point, which has been so clearly established by the learned Dr. Pearson, late bishop of Chester, in his admirable work on this subject, as to leave room for no objection or argument of any weight to appear, against the genuineness of these epistles, which has not been already refuted in his unanswerable vindication of them.‖ If, therefore, it shall still be urged by such writers as Dr. Campbell, against the authority of Ignatius, that "we cannot with safety found a decision on an author, with

* See Archbishop Wake's Translation of the *Genuine Epistles of the Apostolical Fathers*, p. 59.

† Irenæus Contra Her. lib. v. cap. 28. ‡ Lib. iii. c. 36.

‖ See *Vindiciæ Ignatianæ*, by Dr. Pearson.

whose works transcribers have made so free," we think it sufficient to reply in the words of archbishop Wake, " that if it be meant, that the same has happened to the epistles of Ignatius, as has done to *all other ancient* writings, that letters or words have been mistaken, either by the carelessness or ignorance of the transcribers, we see no reason why we should deny that to have befallen these epistles, which has been the misfortune of *all other pieces of the like antiquity.* This, therefore, it has been often declared,* that neither do we contend about; nor can any one, who reads the best copies we have of them with any care or judgment, make any doubt about it. But as for any large interpolations, such as were those of the copies before extant;† for any changes or mistakes that may call in question either the credit or authority of these epistles, as we now have them, we utterly deny that there are any such in these last editions of them:"‡ nor, we may add, has even the learned Dr. Campbell offered any thing to induce us to believe that there are. He has indeed acknowledged, that " the epistles in question ought not to be rejected in the lump," but still insists " that undue freedoms have been used, even with the purest of them, by some over-zealous partizan of the priesthood." And if we should maintain, that this is an *undue freedom* used by " an over-zealous partizan" of presbytery, we could bring forward as much proof in support of our assertion, as he has produced for the purpose of stamping the mark of forgery, or interpolation, on the epistles of Ignatius. All that he has offered like argument on the subject,‖ amounts at most, even by his own account, to " raising suspicions of their authenticity, or at least of their integrity;" but he surely knew, that it requires more than *suspicion*, however strong, to fix forgery, or prove interpolation in any writing.

* Vossii annot. passim. Pearson Vind. Ignat. Proleg. p. 20.

† That is, before those of *Usher* and *Vossius*.

‡ See Archbishop Wake's Translation, &c. p. 39. ‖ Lecture vi.

What seems to be the greatest ground of offence, as well as of suspicion, is the "nauseous repetition," as he calls it, "of obedience and subjection to the bishop, presbyters, and deacons, to be found in the letters of Ignatius." But has he shown, or even attempted to show, that there are any manuscripts, or editions of letters, in which this offensive "nauseous repetition" is not to be met with? No: but the sentiment itself, and the manner in which it is expressed, are so different from the spirit and style of the apostolic age, as to afford "strong presumptive evidence against the entire genuineness of the letters in question." Such is the judgment which Professor Campbell wished his pupils to form on this controverted point;* very different indeed from the opinion delivered by one, who must be acknowledged a no less competent judge of their merit, even the learned translator of the epistles of Ignatius into English, who assures us, that "there is nothing in these epistles, as we now have them, either unworthy of the spirit of Ignatius, or the character that antiquity has given us of them; nothing disagreeing to the time in which he wrote, or that should seem to speak them to have been the work of any later author. Now this, as it hardly ever fails to discover such pieces as are falsely imposed upon ancient authors; so there not appearing any thing of this kind in these epistles, inclines us the more readily to conclude, that they were undoubtedly written by him, whose they are said to be."† And when we are thus well assured that they are so, and have every reason to believe that this

* It is worthy of notice, how differently Dr. Campbell himself expresses his opinion of the Ignatian epistles, in the preface to his translation of St. John's gospel, where he says—"There are evident references to this gospel, though without naming the author, in some epistles of Ignatius, the authenticity of which is strenuously maintained by bishop Pearson, and other critics of name—It was in the *beginning* of the second (century) when the above mentioned Ignatius wrote his epistles."—Dr. Campbell's Translation of the Gospels is dedicated to a *bishop*.

† See Archbishop Wake's Translation, p. 34.

is a true and just account of their character, we need not be much moved by any of those objections, which the anti-Episcopal writers have made to their authenticity; one of which Dr. Campbell states to be, that "their style, in many places, is not suited," as he expresses it, "to the simplicity of the times immediately succeeding the times of the apostles;" and then, after enlarging a little on this topic, in a way that only *seems* like reasoning, and has but the *appearance* of argument, he adds, "but it is not the style only which has raised suspicion, it is chiefly the sentiments." And the chief sentiment, which he has selected to justify this suspicion, is expressed in the following words of Ignatius to Polycarp—"Attend to the bishop, that God may attend to you. I pledge my soul for theirs, who are subject to the bishop, presbyters, and deacons. Let my part in God be with them."

After quoting these words, our Lecturer asks—"Was it the doctrine of Ignatius, that all that is necessary to salvation in a Christian, is an implicit subjection to the bishop, presbyters, and deacons? Be it, that he means only in spiritual matters. Is this the style of the apostles to their Christian brethren?" Yes; we answer, it is the very style even of that great apostle, to whom he immediately refers, and who, after giving this command to the believing Hebrews—"Obey them that have the rule over you, and submit yourselves," gives also the reason and object of his command—"for they watch for your souls, as they that must give account, that they may do it with joy, and not with grief;"* that is, may give a joyful account of your obedience and submission to them, when they are speaking to you in the name of Christ, and teaching you to observe all things whatsoever he has commanded. For it was only when the bishop, with his presbyters and deacons, were thus employed in the careful discharge of their duty as

* Heb. xiii. 17.

ambassadors for Christ, that Ignatius required the Christians at Smyrna to hearken and attend to them; and if they did so, he might very safely assure them of salvation; just as we find two of our Lord's apostles quoting that passage of scripture which saith—"Whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord, shall be saved;"* where "calling on the name of the Lord," must necessarily imply faith in that name, which is the "only one given under heaven, whereby we must be saved," and obedience to that Lord, "who became the author of eternal salvation unto all them that obey him." Yet the same St. Paul, who said of himself and his fellow apostles—"We preach not ourselves, but Christ Jesus the Lord, and ourselves your servants for Jesus' sake," could also represent himself as a humble instrument of that salvation, which this Jesus had purchased, when, speaking as the apostle of the Gentiles, he said, on that account, "I magnify mine office, if by any means I may provoke to emulation, them which are my flesh, and might *save some of them*."†

In the same light we find him representing his fellow labourer Timothy, when having pointed out what things he was to "*command* and teach," he exhorts him to "continue in them, and to take heed unto himself, and unto the doctrine; for in doing this," says he, "thou shalt both *save* thyself, and *them that hear thee*."‡ Where then was the presumption or impropriety in Ignatius "thus exhibiting the pattern, which had been given by that great apostle," and in the name of his blessed Master, promising salvation to those who should hearken to the doctrine, and follow the directions delivered by his commissioned servants, and agreeably to his holy will? If this was the "predominant scope" of Ignatius, in the letters ascribed to him, does he deserve the imputation of "preaching himself and other

* Acts ii. 21, and Rom. x. 13. † Rom. xi. 13, 14.
‡ 1 Tim. iv. 16.

ecclesiastics?" And was it fair to say, as Dr. Campbell has said, that "the only consistent declaration which would have suited the author of these epistles, must have been the reverse of Paul's. We preach not Christ Jesus the Lord, but so far only as may conduce to the increase of our influence, and the exaltation of our power; nay, for an object so important, we are not ashamed to preach up ourselves your masters, with unbounded dominion over your faith, and consequently over both soul and body."

Where are the words of Ignatius to be found that can bear such a harsh interpretation? We have read all his epistles from beginning to end, but have not met with a single expression in them that can justly be said to lead to such an unworthy conclusion. On the contrary, we see his humility no less conspicuous than his zeal, when we find him declaring to the Magnesians—"As one of the *least* among you, I am desirous to forewarn you, that ye fall not into the snares of vain doctrine;" and to the Romans—"I do *not*, as Peter and Paul *command* you. They were apostles, I a condemned man; they were free, but I am even to this day a *servant;*" thereby alluding to his approaching sufferings as the conclusion of his *service*, and acting not at all consistently with that affectation of power, that desire of worldly exaltation, which, on the supposition of his epistles being genuine, as we have very good ground to believe they are, our Professor thinks it necessary, for the sake of "propriety, as well as consistency," to ascribe to this truly pious and venerable prelate; of whom it may indeed be said, in the words of Dr. Campbell, that he has thus "suffered a second martyrdom" in his character, for no other reason but because he is considered as "the first ecclesiastical author who mentions bishop, presbyter, and deacon, as three distinct orders of church officers." And what wonder is it, if he were really so, when in the restricted sense of "ecclesiastical authors," as excluding the inspired writings, we know of none whose writings are

received as authentic, prior to Ignatius, unless Clemens of Rome: and does Ignatius contradict or differ materially from Clemens? Or does Polycarp, of Smyrna, whom Dr. Campbell has quoted with so much triumph, differ so widely from Ignatius, as to show not merely a "diversity in style, but a repugnancy in sentiment?" What though both these old bishops of Rome and of Smyrna speak in very honourable terms, not only of presbyters, but of deacons, and seem to direct the attention of those whom they addressed chiefly to these two orders of ministers? Do any such hints and directions, with all that can be drawn from them in the way of doubtful inference, speak so decisively in favour of Presbytery, as the precise words of Ignatius, without any comment, do in support of Episcopacy? Are the specious arguments of philosophy held forth to prove the formation of all things by a first cause, so clear and satisfying a demonstration to the mind of a Christian, as this single and express assertion of the inspired historian, "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth?"

But it is needless to insist any longer on this part of our subject, since our Lecturer himself thinks proper to close it in these words—"But should we admit after all, in opposition to strong presumptive evidence, the entire genuineness of the letters in question, all that could be fairly inferred from the concession is, that the distinction of orders, and subordination of the presbyters, obtained about twenty or thirty years earlier than I have supposed, and that it was a received distinction at Antioch, and in Asia Minor, before it was known in Macedonia, and other parts of the Christian church. That its prevalence has been gradual, and that its introduction has arisen from the example and influence of some of the principal cities, is highly probable." It is thus that our learned Professor is pleased to make concessions, for the sake of drawing such inferences from them, as may best suit his own purpose,

and at last to decide the very point in question, and a matter of the utmost importance, by no other argument, than that his account of it "is highly probable;" an argument, which, whatever may be allowed to it in speculative debate, can have but little weight in determining matters of fact. Yet if we were to make the most of our adversary's concession, that when Ignatius wrote, the "distinction of orders, and subordination of presbyters, which we plead for, was received at Antioch, and in Asia Minor," and to admit his "probability, that the example of some of the principal cities" would have considerable influence in favour of such distinction, we should not be ashamed to own, that the example of such a "principal" place, as the scripture describes Antioch to have been, has great weight with us; and that we think it a point of no small consequence gained, to find *our* scheme of church government so early received "in a city," where the disciples were first called Christians.*

But the epistles of Ignatius not only show what was the form of government in the church at the time when he wrote them, (which was a very few years after the death of the apostle St. John) and what it was in the city of Antioch, of which he had been bishop near forty years; they also exhibit the clearest evidence of his belief, that the three distinct orders of bishops, presbyters and deacons were of divine institution, and essential to the regular constitution of the Christian church. In these epistles he mentions several of his contemporary bishops by name, Onesimus, bishop of the Ephesians; Damas, of the Magnesians; Polybius, of the Trallians; and Polycarp, of the Smyrnians; and still as he mentions them, he highly commends the presbyters and deacons for their obedience to them, as to the command of God, and according to the will of Jesus Christ. Having saluted the Trallians in the fulness of his

* Acts xi. 26.

apostolic character, he earnestly exhorts them to be subject to their bishop, presbyters and deacons; for without these, there is no church: And then, entreating them to beware of the poisonous doctrine of certain dangerous heretics, he adds—"And this you will do, while you are not puffed up, nor separated from God, even Jesus Christ; nor from the bishop, and the commands of the apostles. He that is within the altar is pure; but he that does any thing" (belonging to the altar) "without the bishop, presbyters and deacons, is defiled in his conscience." So likewise in the inscription of his epistle to the Philadelphians, he "salutes them in the blood of Jesus Christ, our everlasting and permanent joy, especially if they were at unity with the bishop, and the presbyters that were with him, and the deacons, who were appointed according to the mind of Jesus Christ, whom he had, according to his own will, established with firmness by his holy spirit." And in the epistle to the church at Smyrna, after mentioning the reverence which is due to the sacred orders of the ministry, "as the commandment of God," he adds—"Let no man do any thing of what belongs to the church, separately from the bishop. Let that be esteemed a valid eucharist, which is celebrated by the bishop, or by one whom he appoints. Without the bishop, it is not lawful either to baptize, or to celebrate the feast of charity; but that which he approves, is also pleasing unto God, that so whatever is done, may be sure and well done."

These are some of the many passages which might be produced from the epistles of Ignatius, to evince his belief of a truth, which even these few are sufficient to show he certainly did believe, that the principal care, and government of the church of Christ had been committed by his apostles to those, who, immediately after the apostolic age, were peculiarly distinguished by the title of *bishops*, having under them the two inferior orders of *presbyters* and *deacons*, discharging their several offices always in conjunction

with, and subordination to, their respective bishops, without whose authority, in the opinion of Ignatius, no baptism was to be administered, no eucharist celebrated; nothing, in short, to be done, which more immediately belonged to the service of the church, or was included in the commission which our Lord gave his apostles, to be continued to the end of the world, for making the nations Christian, and teaching them to observe all things necessary to salvation and happiness. Such was the doctrine delivered by this holy and venerable bishop of Antioch, who could not but be perfectly acquainted with the form of government, which the apostles, by their Lord's command, had settled in the church, since he lived so near to their times, and had not only been instructed by them, but, as St. Chrysostom tells us, actually received his ordination from their sacred hands. It is likewise to be considered, that these epistles were written by him, in the immediate prospect of that violent death, to which he was condemned for his bold and steady adherence to the faith of Christ, and when, having but a short time to live, he was desirous to leave behind him this last and dying testimony of his zeal for the honour of his blessed Master, and the advancement of that glorious cause, for which he was about to suffer. All these are considerations which must add great weight to the evidence of Ignatius, and may well convince every impartial reader of his epistles, how unreasonable it is to expect or desire any stronger, or more ample testimony than that which they bear to the Episcopal government of what even Dr. Campbell is obliged to acknowledge to be the "truly primitive church."

In the middle of his remarks on Ignatius, the Doctor thought proper to introduce, without much appearance of connection, another writer of the second age, "in whose writings," he says, the "names bishop and presbyter, and others of the like import, are sometimes used indiscriminately." This writer is no other than Irenæus, who

was first a presbyter, and afterwards bishop of the church of Lyons, and having successively discharged these two offices, can hardly be supposed to confound, or be ignorant of, the distinction between them. Indeed, our Lecturer acknowledges, "that the distinction of these, as of different orders, began about this time generally to prevail; although the difference was not near so considerable as it became afterwards. Accordingly Irenæus," he says, "talks in much the same style of both. What at one time he ascribes to bishops, at another he ascribes to presbyters: he speaks of each in the same terms, as entitled to obedience from the people, as succeeding the apostles in the ministry of the word, as those by whom the apostolic doctrine and traditions had been handed down."—Now, the proof of all this similarity of order, and sameness of office in bishop and presbyters, is taken from one single passage of the work of Irenæus against the heretics of his time, wherein, speaking of apostolic tradition, he defines it to be that, "which, from the apostles, is preserved through successions of presbyters in the churches."* On which passage Dr. Campbell makes this observation—Here not only "are the presbyters mentioned as the successors of the apostles, but in ranging the ministries, no notice is taken of any intervening order, such as that of bishops." And for that very reason, as such an intervening order certainly existed in the days of Irenæus, we may justly conclude, that the presbyters were not mentioned by him, "as the successors of the apostles;" nor do his words imply any such thing; being solely intended to point out a continued succession and course of presbyters, or, as we would now say, clergy in general, as (custodes) guardians of apostolic tradition.

* The words quoted by Dr. Campbell are these: "Cum autem ad eam iterum traditionem quæ est ab apostolis, quæ per successiones presbyterorum in ecclesiis custoditur, provocamus eos, qui adversantur traditioni, dicent se non solum presbyteris sed etiam apostolis existentes sapientiores, synceram invenisse veritatem." Lib. iii. cap. 2.

It is well known, that the word *presbyter* may refer to age, as well as to office; and though the writers of the second century never apply the title of presbyter to a bishop of their own time, but always appropriate it to subordinate presbyters, to express the distinction between bishops and them; yet when they speak of bishops of former times, they make no scruple of giving them sometimes the appellation of presbyters, as being a term equivalent to that of *ancients*, signifying not their office, but their antiquity in the church, and in that sense, it might be applied not to one only, but to all the orders of the sacred ministry. That this was the sense in which Irenæus applied it, in the passage quoted by Dr. Campbell, is sufficiently evident from other parts of his writings, where it is expressly mentioned, that in the chief care and government of the church, the bishops only were the successors of the apostles. Thus, when arguing against the heretics who infested the church in his time, to show that their doctrine was not that of the apostles, nor handed down from them, he makes the following appeal—"We can reckon up those who were by the apostles ordained bishops in the churches, and those who were their successors even to our own time. They never taught nor knew any of the wild opinions of these men: And had the apostles known any hidden mysteries, which they imparted to none but the perfect (as the heretics pretend), they would have committed them with particular care to those persons, to whom they committed the churches themselves. For they would be extremely desirous, that those should be perfect, and unreprovable in all things, whom they left to be their successors, and to whom they consigned their own authority."—He then adds —"Because it would be tedious to enumerate the succession of bishops in all the churches, he would instance in that of Rome; which succession he brings down to Eleutherius, who was the twelfth from the apostles, and was

bishop there, when Irenæus wrote this treatise ;"* in another part of which he tells us, that the true knowledge is " the doctrine of the apostles, and the ancient state of the church throughout the world, and the character of the body of Christ, according to the successions of bishops, to whom they committed that church, which is in every place, and has descended even unto us."† In these passages of Irenæus, where the succession from the apostles is plainly and purposely held up to view, we see " no notice taken of any intervening order," such as that of Dr. Campbell's presbyters, as in any way necessary to the carrying on that succession, which, together with their doctrine, was delivered by the apostles to the several churches founded by them, and is therefore very properly made use of, to show that the doctrine was most likely to be found where the succession was regular.

The same argument, we have seen, was employed by another ecclesiastical writer of this period, the much admired, yet deeply regretted Tertullian, who speaks of it as a thing universally admitted in his time, that the apostles

* His words are, " Habemus annumerare eos, qui ab apostolis instituti sunt Episcopi in ecclesiis, et successores eorum usque ad nos, qui nil tale docuerint, neque cognoverunt, quale ab his deliratur. Etenim si recondita mysteria scissent apostoli, quæ seorsim et latenter ab reliquis perfectos docebant, his vel maxime traderent ea, quibus etiam ipsas ecclesias committebant. Valde enim perfectos, et irreprehensibiles in omnibus eos volebant esse, quos et successores relinquebant, suum ipsorum locum magisterii tradentes.—Sed quoniam valde longum est in hoc tali volumine, omnium ecclesiarum enumerare successiones, maximæ et antiquissimæ, et omnibus cognitæ, a gloriosissimis duobus apostolis Petro et Paulo Romæ fundatæ et constitutæ ecclesiæ, eam quam habet ab apostolis traditionem, et annunciatam hominibus fidem per successiones Episcoporum pervenientem usque ad nos, indicantes confundimus omnes eos," &c. Iren. lib. iii. cap. 3.

† Agnitio vera est apostolorum doctrina, et antiquus ecclesiæ status in universo mundo, et character corporis Christi secundum successiones Episcoporum quibus illi eam, quæ in unoquoque loco est, ecclesiam tradiderunt, quæ pervenit usque ad nos, &c. Lib. iv. cap. 63.

placed bishops in all the churches which they planted; of which he gives a particular instance in that of Smyrna and of Rome, and argues against the heretics in the same manner as Irenæus had done; proving, as has been already shown, that by this succession, from the apostles, of regular and lawful bishops, the true faith was preserved in all the churches, which had their foundation in some one or other of the apostles, and thereby retained the apostolic doctrine. And however Tertullian may have erred in matters of opinion, by mistaking the meaning of some texts of scripture, and building too much on his own fanciful interpretation of them, there can be no doubt as to the regard which is due to his testimony, when asserting such a well known fact as that of the succession of bishops from the apostles; a thing so fully attested by the ecclesiastical registers to which he refers.

Passing over what our Lecturer says of two short, and, we suspect, spurious, letters from Pius, bishop of Rome, to Justus, bishop of Vienna, as not worthy of notice, we come to consider a passage quoted by him from Clement of Alexandria, who wrote at the close of the second century, and which he thus translates—"Just so in the church, the presbyters are entrusted with the dignified ministry, the deacons with the subordinate. Both kinds of service the angels perform to God in the administration of this lower world."* Dr. Campbell then adds—"Here the distinction is strongly marked between presbyter and deacon: But is it not plain from his words, that Clement considered the distinction between bishop and presbyter, as, even in his days, comparatively not worthy of his notice?"† We must, however, beg leave to say, that this inference does

* The words in Greek, as quoted by Dr. Campbell, are—Ομοιως δε και καλα την εκκλησιαν, ην μεν βελτιωτικην οι πρεσβυτεροι σωζουσιν εικονα την υπηρετικην οι διακονοι, ταυτας αμφοτερας διακονιας αγγελοι τε υπερηνται τω Θεω, καλα την των περιγειων οικονομιαν. Strom. l. I.

† Lecture vi.

not appear so plain as the Doctor thinks; not only because Clement's words evidently refer to the allusion he had been drawing from philosophy and physic, as administering to soul and body, the twofold distinction in man; but chiefly because in another passage of this very work, he illustrates what he had said of the services of angels, by observing, that the faithful presbyter, though not honoured with the *first seat on earth*, shall yet sit on one of the four and twenty thrones mentioned in St. John's revelation; from which he takes occasion to show, that the gradual promotion of *bishops*, *presbyters*, and *deacons*, bears resemblance to the orders of angels,* and so gives ground for comparing the hierarchy in the church on earth to that which takes place in heaven. And that this same Clement was very far from "considering the distinction between bishop and presbyter, as not worthy of his notice," is still farther evinced by what he says in another of his works, where, having pointed out some texts of scripture, as containing a summary of the duties which concern all Christians in general, he adds —"that there are other precepts without number, which concern men in particular capacities; some which relate to presbyters, others which belong to bishops, and others respecting deacons:"†—from which it must plainly appear, not only that Clement regarded the distinction between bishop, presbyter, and deacon, as a matter that ought to be duly attended to, but also that he considered the respective duties of these several orders, as distinctly stated in the holy scriptures.

* Επει και αι ενλαυθα καλα την εκκλησιαν προκοπαι, επισκοπων, πρεσβυτερων, και διακονων, μιμημαλα, οιμαι Αγγελικης δοξης, κακεινης της οικονομιας τυγχανεσιν. Strom. l. VI.

† Μυριαι δε οσαι υποθηκαι ως προσωπα εκλεκλα διαλειπυσαι εγγεγραφαλαι ταις βιβλοις ταις αγιαις αι μεν πρεσβυτεροις, αι δε Επισκοποις, αι δε διακονοις. Pœdag. lib. iii. c. 12, as quoted by archbishop Potter—*On Church Government*—p. 165, which may be very usefully consulted by those who wish to be properly informed on this subject.

We have now brought down the evidence in support of apostolic Episcopacy, as the government of the primitive church, to that period which our learned Professor has thought proper to fix for ascertaining what he calls the *first* step of the hierarchy. We must, however, consider it as the *second* step of his course, whereby he advances from presbytery to what he calls *parochial* Episcopacy, and which he pretends to found on the unanimous consent of antiquity, "in assigning to one bishop no more than one Εκκλησια or congregation, and one Παροικια or parish." We have already taken notice of his opinion respecting the first of these words, which, though usually translated *church*, "when it is not applied to the whole Christian community, can only," he says, "denote a single congregation of Christians; the plural number, *churches*, being invariably used, when more congregations than one are spoken of, unless the subject be of the whole *commonwealth* of Christ."* Hence he fondly draws, what he thinks an unavoidable conclusion, that "as one bishop is invariably considered, in the most ancient usage, as having only one church or congregation, it is manifest that his inspection at first was only over one parish."†

Laying this down as the fundamental position, on which rises under his masterly hands that specious fabric which he has dignified with the name of "parochial Episcopacy," he seems to feel himself standing on sure ground; and his pupils no doubt would be encouraged to view it as such, having had no intimation given them that it was the very same ground from which so many of his predecessors had been successively beaten, and which was assumed, with the same confidence, about a century ago, by the author of a work already referred to, called an "*Enquiry into the constitution, discipline, unity and worship of the Primitive Church.*" Of the striking similarity between this work,

* Lecture vi. † Lecture vi.

and that part of Dr. Campbell's Lectures which is now before us, I cannot express my opinion more justly, or to better purpose, than in the words of a learned divine of the church of England, who, in some remarks lately published on this subject, says—" Having attended to the progress of this controversy, and particularly marked the ground on which, from time to time, it has been placed, I have no difficulty in tracing the road which the Professor has travelled; and there is little doubt on my mind, that the publication last mentioned was the one which the Professor had before him when he put together that part of his Lectures which is now more immediately under consideration; because the same arrangement of argument and proof, the same mutilation of extract, the same want of appeal to that evidence which the scriptures are competent to furnish, together with the same turn of expression, are to be met with in the publications of both writers; a circumstance not to be accounted for but on the supposition of one having copied from the other."*

Now, the foundation, which the *Enquirer* first, and our *Lecturer* after him, have both considered as firmly laid in the constitution of the primitive church, is plainly this, that the charge of one bishop was originally confined to one congregation, or parish, which they both define, almost in the same terms, to be " a competent number of Christians dwelling near together, having one bishop, pastor or minister set over them, with whom they all met at one time to worship and serve God." This Dr. Campbell further explains, by " observing once and again, that every church had its own pastors, and its own presbytery, independently of every other church: And when one of the presbyters came to be considered as *the pastor*, by way of eminence, the rest were regarded only as his assistants, vicars or curates, who acted

* See Mr. Daubeny's *Preliminary Discourse* to those lately published on the *Great Doctrine of Atonement*, p. 90.

under his direction;" just as the *Enquirer* had before illustrated his definition of a presbyter, by observing, "that as a curate hath the same mission and power with the minister whose place he supplies, yet not being the minister of that place, he cannot perform there any acts of his ministerial function, without leave from the minister thereof; so a presbyter had the same order and power with a bishop, whom he assisted in his cure, yet being not the bishop or minister of that cure, he could not there perform any parts of his pastoral office without the permission of the bishop thereof; so that what we generally render bishops, priests and deacons, would be more intelligible in our tongue, if we did express it by rectors, vicars and deacons; by rectors understanding the bishops, and by vicars the presbyters; the former being the actual incumbents of a place, and the latter curates or assistants, and so different in degree, but yet equal in order."

Thus it is, that these two authors go hand in hand in their definition and explanation of the point in question, the latter borrowing from the former, and both founding their application of the term *parish*, on the etymology of the original word, to which they tell us, "that there is commonly a strict regard paid, in the first application of a name to any particular purpose." We know very well that in the primitive times, to which we are now looking back, a bishop's charge was called his Παροικια or *parish;* and we are told in some Lexicons, that the verb Παροικεω, from which the English word *parish* is derived, signifies "habitare juxta," to dwell or inhabit near. Yet some of the writers of the New Testament use the word in a different sense, of which several instances could be produced; and a very "learned and accurate" Lexicographer shows from these instances, that the word refers to "a sojourning, or temporary dwelling in a strange or foreign country," and was therefore very descriptive of the character and situation of those heavenly-minded Christians, who, as *strangers*

and pilgrims, passed the time of their *sojourning* here in fear, looking forward in hope to a more settled habitation.*

Our Lecturer indeed says—"It must not be imagined, that he lays too great stress on the import of words, whose significations in time come insensibly to alter:" And yet, without taking any notice of the alteration, which time has introduced into the use of the original word in question, he immediately after asserts, "that the word Παροικια, in Latin *parochia*, can be applied no otherwise, when it relates to place, than the term *parish* is with us at this day;" whereas the fact is, as clearly exhibited by a learned and inquisitive searcher into these matters,† that though this term was applied in the primitive times to signify an Episcopal diocese, yet it was so far from being confined to a single congregation, or to one place of worship, and the inhabitants near it, that it comprehended all that were included in the civil government of every city, and the region round about it, and, therefore, was of greater or smaller extent, according as the government of such city happened to have a larger or lesser jurisdiction.

In opposition, however, to this well established fact, our Professor still insists on his being able to evince, beyond all possible doubt, as he affirms in the beginning of his seventh Lecture, that "the bishop's cure was originally confined to a single church or congregation; which he in-

* See in Mr. Parkhurst's *Greek and English Lexicon to the New Testament*, the words—Παροικεω, occurring Luke xxiv. 18. Heb. xi. 9.—Παροικια, occurring Acts xiii. 17. Applied spiritually, 1 Peter i. 17.—Παροικος, occurring Acts vii. 6—29. Applied spiritually, Eph. ii. 19, 1 Pet. ii. 11. In conformity with the meaning annexed to it by the inspired writers, *Suicer* renders the word Παροικεω by the Latin—*Advena* or *Peregrinus sum*, and cites as authority for so doing, Philo Judæus, Basil and Theodoret.—See an *Original Draught of the Primitive Church*, &c. p. 34, 35.

† See Mr. Bingham's *Origines Ecclesiasticæ*, or the Antiquities of the Christian Church, vol. iii. p. 344, &c.

tends to show from the particulars recorded in ancient authors, in relation both to him and to it, and which," he says, " can be verified from the clearest and most explicit declarations of these primitive writers, particularly of Ignatius, of Justin Martyr, of Irenæus, of Tertullian, of Cyprian, and several others." It is somewhat strange, that he should have omitted an author more ancient than any of these, the writer of the *Acts* of the Apostles, who gives us a particular account of the very first church formed by them, the church of Jerusalem, and formed, no doubt, as a pattern to all succeeding churches. Of this church, it is universally agreed, as Dr. Campbell himself acknowledges, that the first bishop was James, surnamed the *Just*, a brother or near kinsman of our Lord; and whether he was of the number of the twelve or not, is of no consequence, since he is expressly called an apostle, was evidently vested with the authority of an apostolic bishop, and in that character placed at the head of the church in Jerusalem. The marks of distinction, by which he is plainly pointed out in that station, are too conspicuous not to strike every attentive reader. When St. Peter had declared the manner of his miraculous deliverance from prison, to such of the disciples as he found gathered together, he desired them to " go and show these things to James, and to the brethren:"* but why to James in particular, if he was not the principal person to be informed of that event, and who would most probably have the brethren, that is, the elders or presbyters with him, as we find they were on another occasion, when St. Paul having returned to Jerusalem, from preaching the gospel among the Gentiles, was desirous to give an account of his success, and for that purpose " went in, the day following, unto James, and all the elders, or presbyters, were present?"† In his epistle to the Galatians, the same St. Paul not only places

* Acts xii. 17. † Acts xxi. 18.

James before Cephas and John, but speaks of those who came down from Judea to Antioch, as "coming from James,"* and not from the other apostles and elders, of whom there appears to have been a considerable number then residing at Jerusalem: And if we turn to the fifteenth chapter of the Acts, where the cause of those persons coming down from Judea to Antioch is particularly narrated, we find, that in the council of the apostles and elders, who "came together to consider of the matter" in question, after Peter, Barnabas and Paul had severally delivered their opinions on the subject before them, James spoke last, introducing his discourse with this address—"Men and brethren, hearken unto me," and closing it with a decisive sentence, which, delivered by him as presiding in the council, put an end to the controversy.†

All these circumstances put together, afford the most satisfactory evidence, that the person thus distinguished by the part which he acted, and the respect which was paid to his authority, was really, what he has been constantly represented by the concurring testimony of all antiquity, the fixed bishop of the whole church of Jerusalem, having a number of presbyters and deacons under him, and a great body of Christians belonging to his Episcopal charge. No, says Dr. Campbell, he was nothing more than "the pastor of a single parish, whose whole flock assembled in the same place, for the purposes of public worship, and that they might all join in one prayer and one supplication;" the meaning of which is plainly this, that let the sacred writers, and the fathers of the church after them, say what they will of the numerous conversions wrought by the blessed apostles themselsves, or by their inspired fellow-labourers, and successors in the ministry of the gospel, yet the utmost result of all their labours, during the first three hundred years after Christ, could never amount to more, even in

* Gal. ii. 12. † Acts xv. 13—19.

the largest cities upon earth, including their adjacent territories, than just such a competent number of believers as could be contained within the walls of a single oratory, or place of worship, where they might assemble with their bishop and presbyters, that is, according to our professor, with the parson and his elders, "to hear the scriptures read, and receive spiritual exhortations."*

Of this his favourite scheme of "parochial Episcopacy," it might have been expected, that our learned Lecturer would have began his proof from the place where the church itself began, and so have taken the Jerusalem-parish, which has long been esteemed the *mother*, as the *model* likewise of all the other churches in these early and perilous times, when, as an ancient writer tells us, this very parish or church "was so vastly enlarged by the accession of multitudes of believers, yea, even of the rulers or principal men of the city, that it produced an uproar of the Jews, of the Scribes and Pharisees, they being afraid that the whole city would own Jesus for the Christ."† Let us try, then, if we can discover, even from scripture itself, how far this was the case, since our Professor has given us no information concerning it, supposing, no doubt, that his pupils would read, and judge for themselves.

Nothing can be more clearly expressed than the account, which the sacred historian gives us, of the progressive enlargement of the parish or diocese of Jerusalem, both before and after St. James was appointed its bishop by the other apostles. In the *first* chapter of the Acts, we are told, that the number of the disciples assembled, when Matthias was added to the eleven apostles, was about an *hundred and twenty;* but these could be only a part of the church, as we are assured, that our Lord appeared, after his resurrection, to "above *five hundred* brethren at

* Lecture vii.

† Hegesippus in Euseb. lib. ii. cap. 23.

once, the greater part of whom remained"* when St. Paul wrote his first Epistle to the Corinthians. In the *second* chapter of the Acts, we read that there were added unto them about *three thousand* souls, and that "the Lord was daily adding to the church such as should be saved." If it shall be objected, that of these three thousand, who were converted on the day of Pentecost, there might be a considerable number, who had come up from other countries to celebrate that holy feast at Jerusalem, it should be remembered, that they are said to have "continued in the apostles' fellowship, and breaking of bread, and prayers;" which, as the church was then situated, implies that they continued with them in Jerusalem, and so became inhabitants of that city, if they were not so before.† But should any deduction be made from their number, nothing of that kind can be pretended in the next instance; for in the *fourth* chapter of the Acts, we are told, that on the preaching of Peter and John, "many of them which heard the word, believed, and the number of the men was about *five thousand.*"—Again, we read in the *fifth* chapter, that "believers were the more added to the Lord, multitudes both of men and women;" and in the *sixth*, that "the word of God still increased, and the number of the disciples multiplied in Jerusalem greatly, and a great company of the priests were obedient to the faith." In addition to all these successive accounts of the vast increase of believers, we are informed in the *twenty-first* chapter of the Acts, that when Paul came up to Jerusalem, and went in to James and his presbyters, "they said unto him, Thou seest, brother, how *many thousands*‡ there are of Jews which believe." And when we

* 1 Cor. xv. 6.

† See this matter clearly stated, and a full and distinct account of the rising church at Jerusalem, in a most elaborate *Defence of Diocesan Episcopacy*, by Henry Maurice, D. D.

‡ The original word is Μυριάδες, myriads, which is generally rendered *ten thousands*.

consider, that the inspired historian who relates all this had but little reason to exaggerate, or boast of, the prodigious increase of the disciples of Jesus, which at that time could only serve to increase the rage and violence of their enemies; as we cannot withhold our belief of such a well-attested fact, we must be equally at a loss how to reconcile to reason and common sense, the contracting such numbers into a single congregation, or pretending that so many thousands could possibly assemble in one place, for the exercise of religious worship, at a time when their peculiar form of worship was severely prohibited, and could not be celebrated or attended, but in the most private and retired manner.

Dr. Campbell acknowledges, what indeed is well known, that "there were yet no magnificent edifices built for the reception of Christian assemblies, such as were afterwards reared at a great expense, and called churches. Their best accommodation, for more than a century," he says, "was the private houses of the wealthiest disciples, which were but ill adapted to receive very numerous congregations."—How then, we may ask, could *such* a "numerous congregation," as that which was composed of the "*many thousands*" of converted Jews, whom St. Luke speaks of, be received, for "the purpose of public worship," into any private house, even of the wealthiest disciple in Jerusalem? Our Lecturer very justly observes, that "it is not so much by the measure of the ground, as by the number of the people, that the extent of a pastoral charge is to be reckoned;" and he supposes, "at the time the churches were first planted by the apostles, that the Christians at a medium, were one thirtieth part of the people."—This calculation he carries into the country called Asia Minor, and "supposes further, that country to have been equal then in point of populousness to what Great-Britain is at present; so that one of their bishoprics," which we know, were then only *seven* in number, "in order to afford a congregation

equal to that of a middling parish, ought to have been equal in extent to thirty parishes in this island:"* And on that supposition, how is it possible that the Christian inhabitants of such an extensive tract of country, and so numerous as they are here calculated to be,† could be considered as but a single congregation, or "assemble every Lord's day, for the purposes of public worship, *in the same place?*" For so Dr. Campbell translates the Greek words επι το αυτο, which, it seems, he had found in the "writings of those fathers," whose names he had just before mentioned.

We acknowledge, that there is such an expression to be met with in Justin Martyr's apology to the heathen Emperor for the persecuted Christians; and though our learned Professor tells us, that "it is for *brevity's sake* he does not produce the passage at length,"‡ we are yet led to suspect, that this has happened for the sake of something else, and because the whole passage, short as it is, and standing in no need of abbreviation, contained more than he was willing to produce, or found convenient for his purpose. The apologist, in offering a vindication of the persecuted Christians throughout the Roman Empire, takes notice of the general method, which they adopted in performing their religious service, and for that purpose mentions—that "they *all throughout cities and countries*, assemble *in the same place*, as Dr. Campbell renders επι το αυτο."‖ But this surely could not mean, that the whole body of Christians

* Lecture vii.

† This calculation is well illustrated by the *Anti-Jacobin Reviewer* of Dr. Campbell's work, who estimates the present population of Britain at only 7,000,000, the thirtieth part of which is about 233,333, and that, divided by *seven*, the number of angels, or bishops then in Asia Minor, leaves about 33,333 members for each congregation—a number by far too great for assembling under one roof, to "hear the scriptures read, and receive spiritual exhortation."

‡ Lecture vii.

‖ Justin Martyr's words are, Παντων κατα πολεις η αγρους μενοντων επι το αυτο συνελευσις γινεται.

throughout the wide extended empire of Rome, assembled together in *one place*, and made but *one congregation;* and, therefore, to prevent the appearance of such a glaring absurdity, the first part of the sentence, mentioning "*all throughout cities and countries*," is prudently omitted, "for the sake of brevity" no doubt, both by our Lecturer and by the author, from whom he has almost literally copied the reasoning which he makes use of, on this part of his subject.* But he should also have reflected, that the propriety of the translation on which this reasoning is founded, has in general no great authority to support it, and in some cases cannot possibly be admitted. There was no difficulty, however, in admitting it, in the beginning of the second chapter of the Acts, where the twelve apostles are said to have been "all with one accord *in one place:*" But towards the conclusion of that chapter, after "the *three thousand* souls were added to them," where, it is said—"all that believe were επι το αυτο"—our translators have rendered it—"they were all *together*," that is, consorted, or companied with one another, but not so as to be all crowded into one place; which, had it been possible, would at that time have been very imprudent. Beza's opinion of this passage is, that—"the common assemblies of the church, with their mutual agreement in the same doctrine, and the great unanimity of their hearts, were signified by it."—The same may be said of that passage in the beginning of the third chapter of the Acts, where it is mentioned—that "Peter and John went up *together*, επι το αυτο"—that is—for the same purpose, into "the temple, at the hour of prayer." And in the fourth chapter, where it is said—"that the kings of the earth stood up, and the rulers were gathered

* In proof of this, see the whole second chapter of the *Enquiry into the Constitution, &c. of the Primitive Church*, in the last section of which chapter the author indeed quotes the words of Justin Martyr, which he had before omitted, and translates them thus—"On Sunday all the inhabitants, both of city and country, met together," &c.

together, επι το αυλο, against the Lord, and against his Christ," it would be absurd to suppose that they all actually assembled in *one place*, when the passage only means, that they conspired together for the same purpose, the words plainly pointing to the *object*, and not to the *place*, of their combination; just as that passage of Ignatius, part of which is quoted by Dr. Campbell, refers not to the *place*, but to the *object* or *purpose* for which the Magnesians were to assemble together. "Do nothing, therefore," says Ignatius, "without the bishop and presbyters, neither strive to make any thing appear a reasonable service, which is done in your own separate or private way; but in coming together, let there be one prayer, one supplication, one mind, one hope;"*—all tending to show, that nothing was to be done in the way of public prayer and supplication, but as appointed and performed by their bishop and presbyters, and so as to manifest a becoming love of unity and order. That such is the meaning of this passage of Ignatius, is evident from what immediately follows on the same subject, in which he still recommends the same unity of mind and spirit, in the public offices of religion; "wherefore come ye all together *as* unto one temple of God, *as* to one altar, *as* to one Jesus Christ." For as he told the Christians at Smyrna, when exhorting them to "flee all divisions, as the beginning of evils—that eucharist is to be looked upon as valid," or well established, "which is either offered by the bishop, *or by him to whom the bishop has given his consent.*"†

But to "evince," as our Lecturer says, "beyond all possible doubt, that the bishop's cure was originally con-

* The words of Ignatius are—Μηδε ὑμεις ανευ τε επισκοπε και των πρεσβυτερων μηδεν πρασσετε μηδε πειραζητε ευλογον τι φαινεσθαι ιδια ὑμιν, αλλ επι το αὐτο, μια προσευχη, μια δεησις, εις νους, μια ελπις. Epist. ad Magnes. p. 33.

† See Archbishop Wake's Translation.

fined to a single church or congregation," he still appeals to the language of Ignatius, and insists, that as there was but "one place of meeting, so there was but one communion table or altar, as they sometimes metaphorically called it. There is but one altar, said Ignatius,* as there is but one bishop." This saying, we know, has been justly received, and understood in its full force, by every candid *Enquirer*† into ecclesiastical antiquity, and our Professor might have spared the unhandsome reflection cast on those who differ from him in opinion, with respect to the meaning of it, where he says—"Nothing can be more contemptible than the quibbles which some keen controvertists have employed to elude the force of this expression. They will have it to import one sort of unity in the first clause, and quite a different sort in the second, though the second is introduced merely in an explanation of the first. In the first, say they, it denotes, not a numerical, but a mystical unity, not one thing, but one kind of thing; in the second, one identical thing."‡

In this manner does our learned Lecturer run on, exposing, as he thinks, the "*chicane*" of those who pretend to discover any distinction in the unity referred to in the words of Ignatius. Yet he might have remembered, that there are words recorded by an inspired writer, describing a "sort" of unity which surely requires some distinction in the application. "That they all may be one," says our Lord, "*as* thou Father art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be one in us—that they may be one, even *as* we are one."‖ Here we are obliged to consider the unity referred to, as of a twofold nature; a "mystical unity" described in the words—"that they may be one," and an

* Ἓν θυσιαστηριον ὡς ἑις επισκοπος. Epist. ad Philadelph.

† Dr. Campbell has borrowed from the *Enquirer* above mentioned, a great part of his reasoning on this quotation from Ignatius.

‡ Lecture vii. ‖ St. John xvii. 21, 22.

essential unity in the words that follow—"even as we are one."—The Socinian controvertists will, no doubt, call this distinction a "contemptible quibble;" and insisting that the same "sort" of unity ought to be understood in both the clauses of our Saviour's expression, they will argue as fluently in support of their opinion, as Dr. Campbell has done from what Ignatius says of there being "one altar, as there is one bishop;" an expression, which no more proves the necessity of there being but *one* congregation in the diocese of a primitive bishop, than St. Paul's exhortation to "glorify God with one mind and one mouth,"* would prove that all the congregations of Christians ought to have, as but *one mind* or sentiment, so literally, but *one mouth* to express it.

Our Lecturer, however, is not satisfied with the support which, on this point, he thinks he has obtained from Ignatius; he even calls in to his aid the authority of one, to whom, he afterwards says, "he recurs the more willingly, because he is held the great apostle of high church." Having mentioned that "when the eucharist was celebrated, the whole people of the parish or bishopric, if we please to call it so, communicated in the same congregation, and all received the sacrament, if not from the hands of the bishop, at least under his eye;"† he immediately adds—

* Rom. xv. 6.

† Nay, and partook also, according to Dr. Campbell, of *one* and *the same loaf;* for so we are told in his Translation of the Gospels, vol. ii. p. 450, where we meet with the following note on St. Mat. xxvi. 26. "*The loaf*—τον αρτον E. T. *bread.* Had it been αρτον without the article, it might have been rendered either *bread* or a *loaf.* But as it has the article, we must, if we would fully express the sense, say *the loaf.* Probably on such occasions *one loaf*, larger or smaller, according to the company, was part of the accustomed preparation. This practice, at least in the apostolic age, seems to have been adopted in the church, in commemorating Christ's death. To this it is very probable the apostle alludes, 1 Cor. x. 17.—Ὁτι εἱς αρτος, ἐν σωμα οἱ πολλοι εσμεν οἱ γαρ παντες ἐκ τȣ ἑνος αρτȣ μετεχομεν; that is—*Because there is one loaf, we, though*

"Hence it was that the setting up another altar within the limits of his parish, beside the one altar of the bishop, was considered as the great criterion of schism;"* a criterion evidently drawn from those passages of the works of Cyprian, in which he describes a schismatic as one, "who, despising the bishops, and leaving the priests of God, dares to set up another altar, and to offer up different, and unauthorized prayers;"† and again declares—that "no other altar can be erected, no new priesthood constituted, besides the one altar, and the one priesthood."‡ These, and such like passages from the works of Cyprian, if brought forward in support of Dr. Cambpell's opinion with respect to what he calls "parochial Episcopacy," must be treated with great violence, before they can be wrested to a purpose so different from that for which they were originally designed, and which is uniformly displayed in the writings of the primitive fathers, every where exhibiting this plain and obvious truth, that the unity of the bishop, of the altar, and of prayer, is all founded on the common principle of the

many, are one body, for we all partake of the one loaf. It is in the common translation—*For we, being many, are one bread and one body; for we are all partakers of that one bread.* Passing at present some other exceptions, which might be made to this version, there is no propriety in saying *one bread*, more than in saying *one water* or *one wine.*" And we may add—there is as little propriety in building so much on the *article* in this passage of St. Matthew, when, in the parallel places of St. Mark, St. Luke, and St. Paul's first Epistle to the Corinthians, the word ἄρτον is used *without* the *article:* Nor do we see much *probability*, that *one loaf* could have been found sufficiently large, even for the *three thousand souls*, who are said (Acts ii. 41, 42.) to have "continued steadfastly in the apostolic breaking of bread," much less for the many thousands, who were soon after "added unto them."

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† "Contemptis Episcopis, et Dei sacerdotibus derelictis, constituere audet aliud altare, precem alteram illicitis vocibus sacere."—*De Unitate Ecclesiæ.*

‡ Aliud altare constitui aut sacerdotium novum fieri, præter unum altare, et unum sacerdotium, non potest.—Cypr. epist. 43.

unity of the Christian priesthood. And it has been justly observed, that no uninspired writer "ever so unlocked the evangelical secret of this catholic and Christian unity, as the inimitable Cyprian has done."* Of this we have a very striking proof in that admirable passage, which has been so often quoted by the writers on this subject:— "The Episcopate is *one*, of which every bishop holds a part, so as to have a concern in, or be interested for, the whole. The church also is *one*, which by a fruitful increase grows up into a multitude of members; as the sun has many rays, yet but *one* fountain of light; or as a tree may have many branches, yet but *one* root fixed deep in the earth; or as when many streams descend from *one* fountain, they appear indeed divided in their number, yet all preserve the *unity* of their original."† So is it, with respect to the *unity* of the Christian church, which, though distinguished in its principle by the several primitive expressions of *one church*, *one altar*, and *one bishop*, will always be found to consist with as many churches, altars and bishops, as can be proved to derive their order, institution and authority from the same sacred source, the Bishop of souls, and Founder of the church; the unity of whose divine power and spirit, diffused at first among the chosen twelve, is still preserved

* See the *Original Draught of the Primitive Church*, which contains a full and satisfactory answer to the *Enquirer*, &c. above mentioned.

† "Episcopatus unus est, cujus a singulis in solidum pars tenetur. Ecclesia quoque una est, quæ in multitudinem latius incremento fœcunditatis extenditur; quo modo solis multi radii, sed lumen unum; et rami arboris multi, sed robur unum tenaci radice fundatum; et cum de fonte uno rivi plurimi defluunt, numerositas licet diffusa videatur, exundantis copiæ largitate, unitas tamen servatur in origine." Cypr. *De Unitate Ecclesiæ*. In a note on this passage, Mr. Marshall, the translator, observes, "that the words *in solidum* are forensic, and allude to the case of divers contractors, each of whom was bound not only for his proportionable part, but if the rest failed, was to make good the whole."—By this account, the bishops will be found to hold their part of the Episcopate, as we say, *conjunctly and severally*.

among those who have regularly succeeded to them, in the commission, which they received from Christ. Hence it necessarily follows, that the unity of every regular congregation of Christians, consist in their having the ministerial offices, with which they are supplied, performed by a person duly authorized for that purpose, and acting under the appointment and direction of those who, as rightful bishops, have "authority given unto them in the church, to call and send ministers into the Lord's vineyard."

We have now taken notice of the principal arguments, to which Dr. Campbell has recurred; for they have all been made use of before, to show, that the primitive bishop, in the period which he has fixed for his "parochial Episcopacy," was no other than the pastor of a single congregation or parish, with the presbyters assisting as his curates. And after all the pains he has taken to adjust his plan of the primitive bishopric to the modern presbyterian parish, we find him still obliged to own, that "the resemblance does not hold in every particular; though," he says, "it plainly does in most;" and then adds—"perhaps in some things, the case may bear a greater analogy to some highland parishes in this northern part of the island, wherein, by reason of their territorial extent, the pastor is under the necessity of having ordained itinerant assistants, whom he can send as occasion requires, to supply his place in the remote parts of his charge."*—The fitness of this analogy we shall in part admit, as it corresponds pretty nearly with the ideas which we have been taught to form of primitive Episcopacy; conceiving it to be almost in the Doctor's own words—"One ordained pastor having power to *send* out ordained assistants to supply his place, as occasion requires." But as Christianity began in cities, and populous countries, and it was a long time before it reached such uncultivated tracts as are to be found in the northern

* Lecture vii.

parts of this island, it is chiefly with these populous settlements that we are at present concerned, such as the church, parish, or diocese of Jerusalem, where the bishop must have had many congregations of Christians to superintend, and therefore many presbyters acting under him in the discharge of their ministerial duties.

Indeed, our Professor seems to admit as much, in that passage of his Lecture now before us, where he observes, that "as the whole of the bishop's parish generally received the symbols of Christ's body and blood, mediately or immediately from his hand, so they were, for the most part, baptized either by him, or in his presence." Here the words "*generally*" and "*for the most part*" plainly imply, that *sometimes* the case was otherwise, and a kind of similar acknowledgment is made by what is said of their "receiving the symbols *mediately* from the hand of the bishop." By this expression we cannot properly understand any thing else but the mediation or intervention of the presbyters, as his "ordained assistants." And if receiving from their hands at the other end of such a capacious room as could contain *thausands* of communicants, according to the plan of our Professor, could be held the same as receiving from the hand of the bishop, why not at the other end of the street, and so on to any distance to which his Episcopal charge might extend? It must be remembered, that we are presently alluding to the "parochial Episcopacy" of Jerusalem, in which parish, however, from the account given of it in scripture, we must think it next to impossible, even had it been expedient, which at that time it certainly was not, that the *three* thousand, the *five* thousand, yea the *many thousands* of believers, or *parishioners*, should meet in one place, for the purposes of public worship, or form but one congregation.

It may well be supposed, that in these variable times of the gospel, when the churches had now and then a little rest, and were multiplied, but much oftener were scattered

by distress and persecution, there would be some Episcopal charges, whether we call them by the name of parish or diocese, where the bishop could easily meet with his whole flock in one place, and perform every part of his official duty to them in person. Dr. Campbell has taken care to furnish us with an instance of this kind,* in what he calls the "extensive diocese of Neocesaria," where Tillemont, he says, "hath shown from Basil and Gregory of Nyssa, both natives of Cappadocia, that in the middle of the third century, there were no more than seventeen believers, who probably all resided in the city;" and then asks—"Could fewer be properly associated into one congregation?"† But he has forgot to mention, what the same Basil and Gregory relate, whether Tillemont hath shown it or not, that the bishop assigned to the charge of Neocesaria, the famous Gregory Thaumaturgus, who had himself been converted by Origen, left at his death only *seventeen pagans* in all that "extensive diocese:" And the consequence, we are told, was, that the "zealous citizens pulled down their altars, temples and idols, and in every place built houses of prayer in the name of Christ."‡

* The historian Gibbon had mentioned the same instance, and almost in the same words.—See vol. ii. of the 8vo. edition of his *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, p. 360; where, after acknowledging what, he says, "we may learn from the writings of Lucian, a philosopher who had studied mankind, and who describes their manners in the most lively colours, that under the reign of Commodus, his native country of Pontus was filled with Epicureans and *Christians*," he adds in a note, "Christianity, however, must have been very unequally diffused over Pontus, since, in the middle of the third century, there were no more than seventeen believers in the extensive diocese of Neo-Cæsarea. See M. de Tillemont, Memoires Ecclesiast. tom. iv. p. 675, from Basil and Gregory of Nyssa, who were themselves natives of Cappadocia." This is one of many proofs that might be adduced of a peculiar "coincidence in sentiment" between our theological Professor, and that celebrated historian, whose sceptical opinions are not likely to procure him any admiration among the real friends of Christianity.

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‡ Gregor. Nyssen. in Vit. Thaumat. tom. iii. p. 567. Paris edit. 1638.

An earlier writer too than Gregory Nyssen, the same Tertullian, to whom Dr. Campbell has frequently referred, as favouring some of his sentiments, mentions the Christians, even in his early age, as "so numerous, as almost to constitute the greater part of every city;"* and in his apology to the Roman magistrates, he does not hesitate to speak of the great multitudes of his profession, in these confident terms. "We are of yesterday; yet every place is filled with us; your cities, your islands, your forts, your corporations and councils, even the armies, tribes and companies, yea the palace, senate, and courts of justice; the temples only have we left to you.—Should we go off, and separate from you, you would stand amazed at your own desolation, be affrighted at your solitary state, the stagnation of your affairs, and the stupor of death, which had in a manner seized your city."† What a strange account must this have appeared to the magistrates of Rome, if their great city was found to contain, instead of such prodigious numbers, no more than a single congregation of Christians? The same observation may be made on what Eusebius says, in general, of the Christian churches in every city and country, about the close of the apostolic age, when he uses such singular terms to express their amazing numbers, and compares "their thronged and crowded societies to grain heaped upon a barn floor."‡ It will be no easy matter to reconcile this report of a very well

* Tanta hominum multitudo, *pars pæne major cujusque civitatis*. Tertul. ad Scap. c. 2.

† "Hesterni sumus, et vestra omnia implevimus; urbes, insulas, castella, municipia, conciliabula, castra ipsa, tribus, decurias, palatium, senatum, forum; sola vobis reliquimus templa. St tanta vis hominum in aliquem orbis remoti sinum abrupissemus a vobis——proculdubio expavissetis ad solitudinem vestram, ad silentium rerum, et stuporem quendam quasi mortui urbis." Tertul. Apol. p. 33. cap. 37.

‡ This gives but imperfectly the sense of the original, Και δηλα ανα πασας πολεις τε και κωμας πληθυσης αλωνος δικην, μυριανδροι και παμπληθεις αθροως εκκλησιαι συνεςηκεραν. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. lib. ii. c. 3.

informed and accurate author, with our Professor's imaginary calculation, by which he attempts to show that "one of the primitive bishoprics, in order to afford a congregation equal to that of a middling parish, must have been equal in extent to thirty parishes in this island."

Having already discovered the extreme weakness of the materials, and want of solidity in the foundation, on which this strange position is built; and being thereby sufficiently guarded against any conclusion that may be drawn from such doubtful and dangerous premises, we may be excused from following our learned Lecturer through all the minute descriptions of his parochial plan of Episcopacy; especially as, by his own confession, there is no complete resemblance or conformity to it, in that established system, under the protection of which he made such a distinguished figure. The difference indeed, we could easily show in a number of instances, if it were not more our concern to defend the soundness of our own, than to expose the defects of other systems; or if we may be allowed to adopt the language of him who has attacked us, and say—"It is neither our province, nor humour, to trace nonsense through all its dark and devious windings."* There is still, however, one part of our Professor's specious theory, of which we cannot well omit to take some notice, as it seems to touch the main hinge of the controversy, and may serve as a farther specimen of the skill and address with which the other parts are constructed.

The point to which I am alluding, occupies, in one way or other, all that remains of the seventh Lecture, part of which we have already considered, and is introduced by the Lecturer's "returning to the administration of religious ordinances in those primitive parishes," which he had been describing. After having told us, that "the presbyters

* See Dr. Campbell's application of this remark to the pious and eminently learned Mr. Henry Dodwell, Lecture iv.

executed certain ministerial offices, in those parts of the parish to which the bishop found it reasonable to send them, and also assisted him in the public offices of religion; that when he was sick, or otherwise necessarily absent, they supplied his place, and as the charge of the parish was eminently devolved upon him, they acted in all the ministerial duties by his direction, or at least with his permission;" he immediately adds—"The only question of moment that has been raised on this head is, whether by his order or allowance, they could exercise every part of the pastoral office as well as the bishop, or whether there were some things, such as ordaining others to the ministry, which even his commands could not empower them to do?" On this very important question, the learned Professor gives his own opinion directly in these words—"As the power of the bishops arose, and that of the presbyters sunk gradually, I am disposed to think, that in the course of two centuries, or even a century and a half, there was a considerable difference in this respect, in the state of things, at the beginning, and at the end. Towards the conclusion of that period, I imagine, it became very unusual for a bishop to delegate this, which was ever looked upon as the most sacred, and most momentous trust, to his presbyters. The transition is very natural from *seldom* to *never*, and in our ways of judging, the transition is as natural from what never is done, to what cannot lawfully be done."*

Now, what is all this, but mere declamation, or a fanciful train of reasoning, founded upon gratuitous assumptions, and confirmed by the author's own "*imaginings*, and *dispositions to think*" so and so, without any thing offered in the way of proof, or even of illustration? The period which he has assigned for the operation of his "natural transition," we cannot help thinking, is very ambi-

* Lecture vii.

guously defined. He is willing to reduce it to "a century and a half," and yet finds a considerable difference in the state "of things at the *beginning*, and at the end." That period undoubtedly *began* with the birth of Christ; so that the thirty-three years of his life must be struck out of the calculation, as must also be the subsequent years to the death of St. John, the apostle; and then the "course of a century and a half," will be reduced to little more than half a century, which is rather a short period for effecting such a considerable change as our author alludes to, in the government of the church. When he tells us—"that the power of the bishops arose, and that of the presbyters sunk gradually;" should he not have mentioned more particularly, for the information of his pupils, what it was that thus raised the bishops and sunk the presbyters, even in a gradual manner? There were then no flattering Constantines,—none of those imperial edicts, which he inveighs so bitterly against, to create or support such a dangerous ascendancy in the first of these ecclesiastical orders above the second. If it was entirely owing to "seniority, or superior merit, or distinguished talents," as our Lecturer seems to think "probable," what an insignificant race must those presbyters have been, none of whom could ever be found to possess "merit or talents" sufficient to preserve their power from sinking, or rather being totally swallowed up in that gulph of Episcopal dominion, from which it was never to rise again?

Our author indeed "imagines," (but without assigning any ground for such an imagination) that towards the conclusion of his "century and a half," it *became* very unusual for a bishop "to delegate the trust of ordination to his presbyters;" and yet we shall soon find him endeavouring to fix this unusual practice, even upon "the great apostle of High-church himself," a whole century after the period to which he is here referring. But the strangest inconsistency, and most illogical piece of reasoning in all that portion

of Dr. Campbell's Lectures now under our consideration, is that which follows in these words—" We know, that some time after the period to which I have here confined myself, ordination by presbyters was prohibited, and declared null by ecclesiastical canons. But the very prohibitions themselves, the very assertions of those whom they condemned as heretics, prove the practice, then probably wearing, but not quite worn out."* And it is well, we say, for those who maintain the necessity of Episcopal ordination, that its modern rival, ordination by presbyters, was prohibited so early, as even our Lecturer's vague expression must mean, " if it mean any thing."—But we know not well what opinion to give of the manner in which he accounts for these prohibitions, and which appears liable to some objection in the terms made use of to define it, and much more in the consequences that may be deduced from it.

If by the terms, in which it is expressed, we are to understand that " the prohibitions themselves prove the practice to be then *probably* wearing, but not quite worn *out*," we must object to that sort of evidence, which establishes no sort of connection between the proof and the thing to be proved: and we might say, on much better ground, if *probability* be all the point in question, that the prohibitions rather prove the practice to be then *probably* wearing *in*, and beginning to require correction.—But if it be the practice itself which is meant to be proved, not only by the prohibitions themselves, but " by the very assertions of those whom they condemned as heretics," might it not be expected, that our Professor would have let his pupils know, whether the authors of these " assertions," some of whom he ought to have named, were really heretics, or only condemned as such, by those who had prohibited the practice, to which he was here referring? His statement

* Lecture vii.

of the case, on the contrary, is dark and dubious, where the nature of the subject required that his sentiments should have been delivered in clear and explicit terms. He was sensible, no doubt, of the ticklish ground on which he was treading, and, therefore, contrived to make use of language, not so plain, and unequivocal, as might have been looked for. Yet even to insinuate that the assertions of condemned heretics serve to prove their innocence, or the lawfulness of that, which they were condemned for maintaining, is a tenet rather of dangerous consequence, and not such as might be expected from an established theological chair. Did the assertions of the Arian heretics, when condemned by the council of Nice, prove their doctrine to be then only "wearing, but not quite worn out?" Were there no *novelties* in these old times, which, on their very first appearance, were stigmatized as heresies? And might not this fancy of admitting "ordination by presbyters," have been but a novelty, when it was first prohibited, at least for any thing that Dr. Campbell has produced to show the antiquity of its origin, or the continuance of its practice? Or did the church, so early as the period "to which he has here confined himself," make canons against apostolic institution, and primitive usage, when "wearing, but not quite worn out?" These are questions, which, connected as they evidently are with "the most sacred and momentous trust," it was the business of our learned Lecturer to have discussed with a degree of seriousness and attention, suitable to the dignity and importance of the subject, and not to have left his hearers without any other impression on their minds, than what arises from the authority of a great *name*, which, he himself has repeatedly told us, "has greater influence on the opinions of the generality of men, than most people are aware of."

In the course of our inquiries into the ecclesiastical history of the first three or four centuries, we meet with an

instance of one Colluthus, a presbyter of Alexandria, who, pretending to have been promoted to the office of a bishop, began to encroach on the Episcopal power of ordination, but was soon brought to see his error, and having renounced his schism, was again admitted to communion as a presbyter. This happened about the beginning of the fourth century, and so far from being considered as a "practice then wearing out," it is expressly mentioned as the *first* attempt of that kind. Some time after we read of another presbyter, Aerius, who, as a judicious writer observes, "seeking to be made a bishop, could not brook that another was preferred before him; and, therefore, when he saw himself unable to rise to that greatness, which his ambitious pride did affect, his way of revenge was to try, what wit, being sharpened with envy and malice, could do, in raising a new and seditious opinion, that the superiority which bishops had, was a thing which they should not have, there being no necessary distinction between them and presbyters."* For holding and striving to propagate this *new* opinion, which Epiphanius imputes to his ignorance of the scriptures, Aerius was not only branded as a *heretic*, but considered as no other than a *madman;* for "how was it possible," said those who argued against him, "that he should constitute or ordain a presbyter, who had no authority to impose hands in ordination?"†

In opposition, however, to these facts (though facts are usually reckoned stubborn things) our Lecturer produces some extracts from the works of contemporary writers, sufficient, as he thinks, to establish his own opinion; and "that about the middle of the third century, the presbyters were still considered as vested with the power of conferring

* See Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Politie,* book vii. p. 25.

† Πως διονλε ην τον πρεσβυλερον καθιζαν μη εχονλα χειροθεζιαν τε χειρολονειν. Epiphanius Hæres. lxxv. p. 908—as quoted by Archbishop Potter in his *Discourse on Church Government,* p. 292.

orders," he says, "has been plausibly argued from an expression of Firmilian, in his letter to Cyprian;" which expression is thus translated by the "plausible arguer," whom he, no doubt, had in his eye.*—"All power and grace is constituted in the church, where seniors preside, who have the power of baptizing, confirming and ordaining."† Now, says Dr. Campbell, "that by *majores natu*, in Latin" (here rendered seniors), "is meant the same with πρεσβυτεροι in Greek" (or presbyters), "of which it is indeed a literal version, can scarcely be thought questionable. Besides, the phrase so exactly coincides with that of Tertullian, who says—Probati præsident seniores—approved elders preside, —as to make the application, if possible, still clearer."‡ Yet we cannot help thinking, that more illustration is still wanting; and that no person, who reads with attention the whole of this epistle of Firmilian's to Cyprian, and properly considers the nature of the subject on which he wrote, can have any doubt, that by the "seniors, who preside in the church," he certainly meant the *bishops*, as being the only presidents, who were acknowledged to "have the power of confirming and ordaining," as well as of baptizing, and to whom he plainly refers a little after, when mentioning St. Paul as surely "not inferior to the *bishops* of whom he had been speaking."‖ It is equally certain, that by Tertullian's "approved presidents," could only be meant the *bishops* or heads of the several churches within the Roman empire; since he was clearly of opinion, that the apostles had placed *bishops* in all the churches which they had planted, and adduced those of Smyrna and Rome

* See the *Enquiry into the Constitution, &c. of the Primitive Church*, so frequently copied by Dr. Campbell.

† "Quando omnis potestas et gratia in ecclesia constituta sit, ubi præsident majores natu, qui et baptizandi, et manum imponendi, et ordinandi possident potestatem." Cyprian. Epist. 75.

‡ Lecture vii.

‖ "Nisi si *his Episcopis de quibus nunc*, minor fuit Paulus."

as instances, although he saw no occasion for calling them by that name, in the apology which he was now offering to the Roman governors.

But what we think most surprising in all that part of Dr. Campbell's Lectures, now more immediately before us, is the readiness with which he recurs to the authority of Cyprian.—This cannot so well be accounted for, as by observing, that the only passage which he quotes from that venerable writer, as favouring the validity of ordination by presbyters, was made use of, for the same purpose, by his great friend and oracle, the author of the "*Enquiry into the Constitution, &c. of the Primitive Church.*"*—We find him arguing just as Dr. Campbell has done, from part of a letter addressed by Cyprian to *his presbyters and deacons* at Carthage, in which "he, in the most earnest and pressing terms, intreats them, during his absence, to discharge what was incumbent both on themselves, and on him, in such a manner, as that nothing might be wanting, either as to discipline or diligence."† Now, says our Professor,—"is it to be supposed, that he would have so expressly enjoined them, without exception or limitation, to discharge the duties of his function, as well as their own, if neither presbyters nor deacons could do any thing in ordination, that part, which was the chief of all?"‡ And we may ask in return, if ordination was included in those duties, which they were to discharge, is it to be supposed, that he would not have made an exception with respect to his *deacons;* as they could have no pretensions to the power of ordaining, even on Dr. Campbell's principles, who had just before been observing, "that there was no occasion for making canons against ordination by deacons, or by

* See the *Enquiry, &c.* p. 62.

† "Quoniam mihi interesse nunc non permittit loci conditio, peto vos pro fide et religione vestra, fungamini illic et vestris partibus et meis, ut nihil vel ad disciplinam, vel ad diligentiam desit." Cypr. Epist. 5.

‡ Lecture vii.

laymen, who did not pretend to such a right?" Yet here he adds—"Might it not be justly thought, that if Cyprian meant to except ordination, he would have given them some hint in this letter, what method, in case of any vacancy in their presbytery, (which during his absence, would be doubly incommodious) they should take, to get it quickly and properly supplied?" And we may easily discover the reason, why no such hint was given, by a careful perusal of the letter itself, which was evidently written for the sake of recommending to his clergy a quiet and prudent behaviour under their present distress, as well as a charitable attention to the necessities of those who are suffering for their faith in Christ, but without any view to the case of a vacancy in their presbytery, or the most proper method of getting it supplied.

This very case, however, or any thing similar to it, we find sufficiently provided for in another of Cyprian's Letters, addressed to two of his colleagues, Caldonius and Herculanus, neighbouring bishops, and to two of his own presbyters, Rogatianus and Numidicus, appointing these four "his vicegerents or deputies, to inquire into the ages, conditions and merits of the brethren; that he whose proper charge or business it was, to promote men to ecclesiastical offices, might be well informed about them, and so promote none but such as were worthy, and humble and meek."* By such an ample deputation as this, those entrusted with it, including in their number two of the Episcopal order, were sufficiently authorized to supply whatever vacancy might happen in any of the ecclesiastical offices, within the diocese of Carthage, during the unavoidable absence of its proper bishop and governor, who, we

* "Cumque ego vos pro me *vicarios* miserim—ut ætates eorum, et conditiones, et merita discerneretis, ut jam, *ego, cui cura incumbit,* omnes optime nossem, et dignos, atque humiles et mites, ad ecclesiasticæ administrationis officia promoverem." Cypr. Epist. 41.

see, speaks of himself in the singular number, as the person who had the power of appointing his subordinate officers, and founds that power on his having the *care* of the church of Carthage committed to him.

The same sentiment we find expressed in another of his letters to his presbyters and deacons, and to all his people, which he begins by telling them, that "though in all clerical ordinations he had been accustomed to consult them beforehand, and to examine the manners and merits of every one with common advice,"* yet in the instance which he was then going to mention, he had thought proper to depart from his usual practice, by ordaining a person without any such previous consultation, and now intimated what he had done, in the common style used by superiors on such occasions. This he repeats in his next letter concerning another ordination of the same kind, by desiring his presbyters and deacons, and all his people, to *take notice*, that though on account of their youth, he had appointed these persons only to an inferior office for the time, he "yet designed them for the honour of the presbyterate, and to sit with him as his counsellors, as soon as their years would admit of that promotion."† All which plainly shows, that Cyprian considered himself, in his Episcopal character, as vested with the sole power of ordination within his district; and it will not be easy to discover, in any part of his works, the least intimation of his sharing that power with his presbyters, far less of his admitting, that they had sufficient right to exercise it, as having equal authority with himself. On the contrary, we find him on all occasions vindicating and strenuously asserting the supreme power of the bishops in this, as well

* "In ordinationibus clericis *solemus* vos ante consulere, et mores, ac merita singulorum communi consilio ponderare." See the whole of Cyprian's 38th epistle to his presbyters and deacons, and to all his people.

† Cæterum presbyterii honorem, designasse nos illis jam *sciatis*—sessuris nobiscum, provectis et corroboratis annis suis. Epist. 39.

as in every other matter, connected with the care and government of the church.

This is particularly observable in one of his letters written to those unhappy persons, who, by sacrificing to idols, had fallen off from the communion of the church, and afterwards became indecently importunate, even with insolent clamour, to be restored to it. After stating to them the manner in which the frame of the church, and the authority of its bishops, were constituted by our blessed Lord, whose precepts we ought to revere and obey, he adds—"Thence, in the course of time, and by regular succession downwards, the ordination of bishops, and the constitution of the church, are transmitted in such a manner, as that the church being built upon the bishops, all her public acts or affairs may be ordered by them as the chief rulers.—Wherefore, since this is God's appointment, I cannot but wonder at the boldness and insolence of certain persons, who, in writing to me, have called themselves a church, when a church is only to be found in the bishop, the clergy, and the faithful, or steady Christians."* Such is the reasoning made use of by this admirable writer, to show the necessity of maintaining communion with the bishop, as the means of preserving that principle of unity in the church, which is essential to its very existence. And this we find him again recommending very strongly, in a letter addressed to all his people on the breaking out of a lamentable schism in his diocese. Having first put them in mind, that "God is one, and Christ is one, and the church is one, and the Episcopal chair is one," he then points to the application, and shows what ought to be the consequence of all

* "Inde per temporum, et successionum vices, Episcoporum ordinatio, et ecclesiæ ratio decurrit, ut ecclesia super Episcopos constituatur, et omnis actus ecclesiæ per eosdem præpositos gubernetur. Cum hoc itaque divina lege fundatum sit, miror quosdam audaci temeritate, sic mihi scribere voluisse, ut ecclesiæ nomine literas facerent; quanda ecclesia in Episcopo, et clero, et in omnibus stantibus sit constituta." Cypr. Epist. 33.

this unity, in the most earnest and affectionate terms.—"Ye are brethren," says he, "let no man make you wander from the ways of the Lord: Ye are Christians, let no man rend you from the gospel of Christ: Let no man take off from the church, the sons of the church: Let them who have a mind to perish, perish by themselves: Let them alone continue out of the church, who have departed from the church: Let them alone not be with the bishops, who have rebelled against the bishops."*

But it was not to "his people," or laity only, that Cyprian directed these, and such like admonitions, warning them of the danger of despising the due exercise of ecclesiastical authority; he spake the same language to his clergy, and showed himself equally desirous of enforcing on the inferior orders of the ministry, a becoming regard to that sacred authority, when thus exercised in the way of Christ's appointment. Having been informed of the ill usage, which one of his contemporary bishops had received from a turbulent and disorderly deacon, he recommended a proper exertion of the Episcopal authority, as the most likely way of bringing the delinquent to a just sense of his duty; observing at the same time, in the letter which he wrote on the occasion, that "the deacons ought to remember, that our Lord himself chose apostles, that is, bishops and governors; whereas the apostles, after their Lord's ascension, appointed for themselves deacons, to be ministers of the church, and of their Episcopal office; so that, if we durst do any thing against God, who hath made us bishops, they might in like manner oppose us, by whose authority they have been made deacons."†

* "Deus unus est, et Christus unus, et una ecclesia, et cathedra una —Nemo, vos fratres, errare a Domini viis faciat: Nemo vos Christianos ab evangelio Christi rapiat: Nemo filios ecclesiæ de ecclesia tollat: Pereant sibi soli, qui perire voluerunt. Extra ecclesiam soli remaneant, qui de ecclesia recesserunt. Soli cum Episcopis non sint, qui contra Episcopos rebellarunt." Cypr. Epist. 43.

† "Meminisse autum Diaconi debent, quoniam apostolos, id est Episcopos et præpositos, Dominus elegit; diaconos autem post ascensum

The deacons, however, were not the only order of church officers, whom Cyprian has described as placed in a subordinate capacity, and acting under the authority of the bishops. Even the presbyters also, though always mentioned by this venerable prelate in terms of the most affectionate regard, and whom he so often calls his *fellow-presbyters*, and points out their duty, as partners with him in the great work of the ministry, are yet as constantly put in remembrance, that nothing was to be done by them, as part of that work, but with the allowance and consent of their ecclesiastical superior; much less was any thing to be attempted in despite of his just authority, and from an avowed spirit of opposition to it. That any such attempt was considered in the days of Cyprian as highly blameable, and worthy of censure, is evident from the manner in which he expressed himself, when obliged to restrain the arrogance of some of his own presbyters, who, during his absence, occasioned by the violence of persecution, had evinced a desire to take the whole Episcopal power into their own hands, and to manage the affairs of the church, as if they had been independent on any superior. Deeply sensible of the necessity of repressing such a daring spirit of disobedience, he tells them very plainly, that he had for a long time taken no notice of their unruly conduct, hoping by his forbearance to have obliged them to be quiet; but their excessive presumption would not suffer him to be silent any longer, lest the people committed to his care should suffer through his inattention. "For what," says he, "have we not to fear from the displeasure of our Lord, when some of our presbyters, neither mindful of the rules of the gospel, nor of their own station in the church, and making no account of the authority of the bishop, who is

Domini in cælo, apostoli sibi constituerunt Episcopatus sui, et ecclesiæ ministros. Quod si nos aliquid audere contra Deum possumus, qui Episcopos facit; possint et contra nos audere diaconi, a quibus fiunt." Cypr. Epist. 3.

at present set over them, or even of that future day, which shall bring every work into judgment, have done what was never attempted before, and, in defiance of their superior, have usurped the whole power, which he has a right to exercise?"* He therefore concludes his letter with assuring them, that if they still persist in such factious and disorderly practices, he will use the authority which the Lord had entrusted to him, and prohibit their future discharge of any ministerial duties.

In all this, we cannot but discover abundant evidence of the subordination both of deacons and presbyters to their bishop; and must be convinced by so many undoubted testimonies, that this was a principle firmly believed in the Cyprianic age, and received as a part of that apostolic doctrine, which was to be handed down in the Christian church, to the end of the world. Were we to cite but the most striking passages from the works of St. Cyprian, which serve to establish the belief of this principle, it would be only repeating what was done in a most distinct and judicious manner, about a century ago, by a learned writer of this country,† who, soon after the publication of this work, was promoted to the Episcopate, on the same primitive footing as that on which was placed the authority of the bishop of Carthage. In maintaining that authority, we have seen this venerable martyr standing forth as its zealous advocate, under the most trying and difficult circum-

* "Quid enim non periculum metuere debemus de offensa Domini, quando aliqui de presbyteris, nec *evangelii*, nec *loci sui* memores, sed neque futurum Domini judicium, neque nunc sibi præpositum Episcopum cogitantes, quod nunquam omnino sub antecessoribus factum est, cum contumelia et contemptu præpositi, totum sibi vindicent." Cypr. Epist. 16.

† See the *Principles of the Cyprianic Age with regard to Episcopal Power and Jurisdiction, &c.*—and a *Vindication of that Discourse*, &c. both by the Rev. John Sage, who, before the revolution, was one of the ministers of Glasgow, and in 1705, was consecrated a bishop of the Scotch church.

stances, and when his zeal in supporting the character with which he had been invested, was the certain means of increasing the dangers to which he was exposed, and placing him in the very front of the battle, to be more directly aimed at, by the fury of his enemies. Yet, with all this malice and opposition staring him in the face, he never shrunk from the arduous task, which the dignity of his office imposed upon him. Through evil report and good report, he persevered in a steady resolution to discharge, with vigour and firmness, the sacred trust committed to him; and, in every part of his writings, we find his theory and practice uniformly consistent, with respect to the subordination which had always distinguished the Christian ministry. On this very point, therefore, it is the more surprising that such a man as Dr. Campbell should endeavour to represent him as at variance with himself! a misrepresentation, for which we cannot otherwise account, than by adopting the Doctor's own opinion, that "when once unhappily the controversial spirit has gotten possession of a man, his object is no longer truth, but victory." We are not ashamed, however, to stand up for Cyprian's self-consistency, or to rank ourselves on his side of the question now under our consideration, even although it should be held up to ridicule, under the contemptuous, but mistaken epithet, of *High-church;* which, when our Professor thought proper to apply as a mark of scorn, in the case before us, he might have reflected that those whom he wished to make the objects of this vulgar sneer, look higher up for *their* apostleship than even to Cyprian, *great* and venerable as they know him to have been, and much as they esteem the support which he has afforded to the cause of ecclesiastical unity and order.*

* It was no doubt very pleasing to Dr. Campbell to find his sarcastic account of the venerable Cyprian, as the "*apostle of High-church,*" so happily *coinciding* with the opinion of a writer, whose work he admired as "a most masterly performance." In the *History of the Decline and*

Our Lecturer, indeed, looks not so high for support to his cause; but, passing quickly over the authority of Cyprian, "eminent" as he calls it, he hastens to produce again that of Hilary, the Roman deacon, with more hope, no doubt, of finding a friend in him, whom he had quoted before with approbation, as "a man of erudition and discernment."—In giving our opinion of the sentiments ascribed to this writer, we could not but take notice of the partial manner in which his words were extracted from his writings, to give some ground for the forced construction that was to be put upon them: And the same observation may be applied to the quotation now before us, wherein this commentator is represented as inferring from a passage in the third chapter of the first Epistle to Timothy, that there is no difference between the ordination of a bishop and of a presbyter, and that "Timothy himself was ordained a presbyter, but because he had not another before him, was, therefore, a

Fall of the Roman Empire, after being told, that the ambitious "Cyprian ruled with the most absolute sway the church of Carthage, and the provincial synods," we find his conduct ascribed to a motive as unworthy of his character as of the author who could thus argue—"Cyprian had renounced those temporal honours, which, it is probable, he would never have obtained; but the acquisition of such absolute command over the consciences and understanding of a congregation, however obscure or despised by the world, is more truly grateful to the pride of the human heart, than the possession of the most despotic power, imposed by arms and conquest on a reluctant people." After such an account of his conduct in life, we need not be surprised at the following base insinuation with respect to his feelings under the prospect of a violent death—"It was in the choice of Cyprian either to die a martyr, or to live an apostate: but on that choice depended the alternative of honour or infamy. Could we suppose that the bishop of Carthage had employed the profession of the Christian faith only as the instrument of his avarice or ambition, it was still incumbent on him to support the character which he had assumed; and if he possessed the smallest degree of manly fortitude, rather to expose himself to the most cruel tortures, than by a single act to exchange the reputation of a whole life, for the abhorrence of his Christian brethren, and the contempt of the Gentile world." See Gibbon's *History*, &c. 8vo. edit. vol. ii. p. 352, 435.

bishop." On this our Professor observes—"Nothing can be more evident, than that the whole distinction of the Episcopate is here ascribed to seniority in the ministry, without either election, or special ordination. When the bishop died, the senior colleague succeeded of course; as to ordination, it was the same in both, and bishop meant no more, than first among the presbyters, or the senior presbyter."* But if this be really the meaning of Hilary's words, we must be allowed to say, that he expressed himself very improperly, when in the same passage he assigned this as the reason, why there was "one ordination of a bishop and a presbyter; because they were both priests"—and there could be no necessity for a double appointment to the same office, as it was undoubtedly by the same ordination, that both bishop and presbyter were promoted to the order of priesthood.—"But," as he immediately adds —"the bishop is the first or chief priest;" the first, not merely in point of seniority, but in order and authority, such as the chief priest was in the Jewish church. For though he was a priest, yet all of that order were not high-priests, nor did they succeed to that office in the way of seniority; just so—says Hilary, "though every bishop be a presbyter, yet every presbyter is not a bishop:"† Or, as our Professor might have said to his pupils,—"though every moderator be a minister, yet every minister is not a moderator," nor does he "succeed to the office of course, as *senior* colleague;" for if we are not mistaken, the choice generally falls on the *junior* colleagues; a very wide departure indeed from what Dr. Campbell makes Hilary describe

* Lecture vii.

† The whole passage from Hilary, as quoted by Dr. Campbell, is in these words: "Post Episcopum tamen diaconi ordinationem subjecit. Quare? Nisi quia Episcopi et presbyteri una ordinatio est? uterque enim sacerdos est. Sed Episcopus primus est, ut omnis Episcopus presbyter sit, non omnis presbyter Episcopus. Hic enim Episcopus est qui inter presbyteros primus est. Denique Timotheum presbyterum ordinatum significat, sed quia ante se alterum non habebat, Episcopus erat."

to have been the primitive practice, and to give weight to his authority, points him out as " a respectable member of the Roman presbytery in those days." How far he was thought to deserve that character, and what respect was paid to his authority by some of the other writers of " those days," may be easily discovered from the ridiculous and contemptible light in which he is represented by the very next " witness whom our Lecturer adduces, a man," he says, " who had more erudition than any person then in the church, the greatest linguist, the greatest critic, the greatest antiquary of them all."

This is no other than the presbyter Jerome, who wrote about the end of the fourth, and beginning of the fifth century, and whose " eminent authority" requires particular consideration, " because," according to Dr. Campbell's distinction, " he is held the great apostle of *low-church*." So much indeed is his authority built upon, in support of ecclesiastical parity, that the most powerful champion who has ever yet stood forth in its defence, after composing a voluminous work against the Episcopal government of the church, sent it abroad into the world under the title of—" An Apology for the opinion of Jerome."* As it is from this armory that all the subsequent adversaries of Episcopacy have borrowed the principal weapons, with which they have appeared in the field, and fitted themselves for the combat; we may well suppose, that our learned opponent

* See D. Blondel's " *Apologia pro sententia Hieronymi.*" *Amstel.* 1646, as to which Dr. Monro, in his *Enquiry into the New Opinions, &c.* very justly observes, that—" when the government and revenues of the church were sacrilegiously invaded by atheists and enthusiasts under Oliver Cromwell, the learned Blondel employed all his skill to make the ancients contradict themselves, and all contemporary records; and though every line that he had written, with the least colour of argument, had been frequently answered and exposed, it was still thought enough for the enemies of Episcopacy to say that Blondel had written a book of 549 pages, to show that Jerome was of their opinion, and had sufficiently proved that this ancient *Monk* was a *Presbyterian*."

in this place, would not fail to wield these weapons with his wonted dexterity; and so as to make them yield every possible aid to the cause which he had undertaken to defend, while thus employed in fighting his way through what he calls "the progress of the hierarchy." With this view, we now find him bringing forward, in what he, no doubt, thought the most hostile form, "the testimony" of Jerome, as attacking Episcopacy from one particular point, "the practice, which," he says, "had long subsisted at Alexandria;" and then gives us the passage in Jerome's own words, from his epistle to Evagrius, mentioning that "from the days of St. Mark, the evangelist, down to those of the bishops Heracla and Dionysius, the presbyters of Alexandria always chose one from among themselves, and placing him in a higher seat, named him bishop, as an army would make an emperor, or deacons choose an arch-deacon."*

This is the famous story, respecting the supposed custom of the church of Alexandria, which, from the days of Blondel, has been eagerly laid hold of, to show, what Dr. Campbell calls—"the sense and strength of the argument" arising from it, that there can be no essential difference between the order of bishop and that of presbyter; since, to make a bishop, nothing more was necessary at first (and of this practice the church of Alexandria remained long an example,) than the nomination of his fellow presbyters; and no *ceremony* of consecration was required, but what was performed by them, and consisted chiefly in placing him in a higher seat, and saluting him bishop."† We know well where it is, that every thing which looks like *ceremony* in the holy offices of religion, has been long exploded; but we

* "Alexandriæ a Marco evangelista usque ad Heraclam et Dionysium Episcopos, presbyteri semper unum ex se electum, in excelsiori gradu collocatum, Episcopum nominabant, quomodo si exercitus imperatorem faciat, aut diaconi eligant de se quem industrium noverint, et archidiaconum vocent." Hieron. Ep. ad Evagrium.

† Lecture vii,

cannot so readily discover, by what means the sacred rite of ordination can be excluded from the account given by Jerome of the practice at Alexandria, when the words immediately following the passage just now quoted, so directly refer to that very rite, and are introduced with the same connecting particle, on which our Professor appears to lay some stress—"*For*" even at Alexandria,—"what does a bishop, which a presbyter may not do, excepting *ordination?*"*—"True," says he, "Jerome admits this as a distinction that then actually obtained; but the whole preceding part of his letter was written to evince, that from the beginning it was not so." And we may say, it is equally true, that between "writing to evince," and "actual evincing," there is a very material difference, as frequently appears from the latter being by no means the consequence of the former.

As a proof of this, let us only try how Dr. Campbell's paraphrase of the words he had quoted from Jerome, will bear its necessary connection with the perplexing question which immediately follows them.—"There was nothing," says the Doctor, "at first requisite to make a bishop, but what was performed by his fellow presbyters, no other ordination, than their election; *for*," adds Jerome,—"what does a bishop which a presbyter may not do, *excepting ordination?*" But why except ordination, or deny the power of it to the presbyters, if no such thing was necessary, or ever required in the making of a bishop? It is evident, therefore, that Jerome not only "admits the superiority of bishops in the exclusive privilege of ordaining," which Dr. Campbell acknowledges to be "true," but that he also admits it to have been so from the beginning, at least from the time when those divisions broke out in the church of Corinth, to which St. Paul refers in his first Epistle to the Corin-

* Quid *enim* facit, excepta *ordinatione*, Episcopus, quod presbyter non faciat?

thians. For it was immediately *after* these divisions took place, and in the very time of the apostles, that provision was made for what Jerome calls the "remedy of schism," and to which he alludes more particularly in his commentary on the Epistle to Titus, in which we find this account given of the same matter, that when it began to be said, I am of Paul, and I of Apollos, and I of Cephas, and "every one thought that those whom he baptized belonged to himself, and not to Christ, it was decreed through the whole world, that one, chosen from among the presbyters, should be set over the rest, to whom should belong the whole care of the church, that so the seeds of schism might be taken away."* Allowing now, that such a decree did really take place, on the occasion which is here said to have given rise to it, we must still find it necessary to inquire, by whom it was made, and what authority there was for making it. It could not be the consequence of any voluntary agreement among the presbyters themselves, who were the persons whose power, it seems, had been abused, and was, therefore, to be now restrained: For such an agreement could only have produced a disposition to submit to this restraint, but could not imply that they had any competent authority to impose it. No general council had yet been called, no assembly of the church held, which could pretend to give laws to all its members, or to issue any other decrees than what had come from those who had received power from on high—to "go and teach all nations." It was to the *apostles*, therefore, and to them only, that we can ascribe the *decree* to which Jerome refers, if any such was made for binding the whole Christian world; so that even on the principle which he lays down, Episcopacy can be traced to no other source than apostolic institution.

* "Postquam vero unusquisque, eos quos baptizaverat suos putavit esse, non Christi, in *toto orbe decretum est*, ut unus de presbyteris electis superponeretur cæteris, ad quem omnis ecclesiæ cura pertineret, et schismatum semina tollerentur."

If after what has now been said of Jerome's testimony, it should still be pretended, that his *Alexandrian* custom militates against any such original distinction been bishop and presbyter, as we have all along asserted, we shall find a sufficient reply to this objection in Jerome's own words, used against one of his antagonists on a similar occasion, "Quid mihi profers *unius* urbis consuetudinem?" Why do you twit me with the custom of *one* city? Or, as he expresses the same sentiment in another place by an antithesis, which suffers from being translated into English—"Major est (auctoritas) *orbis* quam *urbis*." The example of a world is of more authority than that of a city. But indeed there are many arguments which might be adduced to show, that even the practice of the church in the city of Alexandria was not such as Jerome appears, or rather as his commentators would make him appear to represent it. There were two writers considerably earlier than he, and both of them members of this same presbytery of Alexandria, which is pretended to have had such extraordinary powers in the nomination or appointment of their bishop; and yet no notice is taken by them, not the least hint given either by Clemens or Origen, of any such peculiar practice or privilege in the church to which they belonged. This is the more remarkable in the case of Origen, who frequently complained of the severity with which he had been treated by his bishop Demetrius, but never thought of reminding him of the equality of footing on which they stood, or of claiming the rights of a fellow presbyter; which surely he might have done, had Demetrius been no more than a temporary moderator, placed in the chair with no other ceremony than that of salutation, and for no other purpose, than collecting the votes of his brethren, and preserving order in their several meetings.

We are not disposed to call in question the testimony of Jerome, whose character and abilities we hold in just veneration; and had he personally witnessed, or been contem-

porary with those who witnessed, the singular custom which he assigns to the church in Alexandria, we should have paid all due respect to "his testimony, as a testimony in relation to a matter of fact, both *recent* and notorious:" But we are surprised that a writer, so much applauded for accuracy as Dr. Campbell, should have distinguished Jerome's testimony in this manner, or held it out as "regarding the then late uniform practice of the church of Alexandria;" as it appears, even by his own calculation, that from the time when the practice ceased, to the time when Jerome gave this account of it, there must have elapsed near an *hundred and forty years;* a much longer period than seems to be intimated by the manner in which our Professor speaks of it: and it may well be questioned whether a transaction at such a distance of time, however notorious, could properly be termed *recent*, or whether, in referring to the happy event of 1660, an accurate writer would, in 1800, call it the *late* restoration.

But we are told, that in support of Jerome's testimony, "that of the Alexandrian patriarch Eutychius has been pleaded, who, in his annals of that church, takes notice of the same practice, but with greater particularity of circumstances than had been done by Jerome." And our Lecturer might also have told his pupils, that this same annalist lived as far down as the *tenth* century, and though a patriarch, such as the church produced at that day, was remarkable for nothing so much as his credulity, and the inconsistency of his narratives, not only with those of more authentic historians, but often with themselves. Neither Jerome nor he produces any authorities for what they report of the practice at Alexandria; and as to the former, it is well known, that being a man of warm temper, hot in disputation, and possessed of extensive learning, and wonderful powers of mind, he would readily take hold of any appearance of argument, and push it in every direction, by his peculiar strength of language, to carry the point which

he had in view, and was eager to accomplish. That this was the case when he wrote his epistle to Evagrius, is in some measure acknowledged by our Professor himself, who says—that what Jerome had been maintaining in the preceding part of this letter, was "in opposition to some deacon, who had foolishly boasted of the order of deacons, as being superior to the order of presbyters." Feeling, therefore, for the dignity of his own office, thus in danger of being trampled on by such presumptuous folly, Jerome's object was, by every possible means, to exalt the *presbyter*, in order to repress the aspiring pretensions of the *deacon*. With this view, a man of such keen resentment, and warmth of disposition, would naturally push his argument beyond its proper bearing, and in his haste to keep down the presumption of an inferior order, would easily run on, till he encroached on that which was superior to his own; that so by adding to the height on which he stood, he might increase his distance from those that were below him. Those who coolly attend to his train of reasoning on the subject before us, can hardly fail to discover that this is often the case; and, on many occasions, will find it more difficult to reconcile Jerome to himself, than to draw any advantage from him, in favour of that cause, which the followers of his apologist, Blondel, have so anxiously brought him forward to support.

It has been justly observed, that "in spite of the apparent contradictions to be found in the writings of Jerome, some of the strongest proofs may be produced from them, that the original establishment of the Christian church was *Episcopal*," in the true and proper sense of that term.* In this same epistle to Evagrius, he says expressly—"That we may know that the apostolic traditions were taken from the Old Testament, that which Aaron and his sons, and the Levites were in the temple, let the bishops,

* See an *Appendix* to Mr. Daubeny's *Guide to the Church*, vol. i. p. 66.

presbyters and deacons claim to themselves in the church."* Here it is plainly asserted, not only that the hierarchy of the church is founded on apostolic tradition, but also that the apostles had the model of the temple in their view, and raised their plan of church government according to the Jewish economy, by placing the same difference between bishop, presbyter and deacon, under the gospel, as there had been between the high-priest, priest and Levite under the law; a position, which overturns every argument that can be brought from any other part of his writings, to prove the identity of bishop and presbyter, or that the latter is of the same order with the former; of whom he says also in this epistle—"that the power of riches, or the humility of poverty, does not make a bishop higher or lower; but they are all successors of the apostles."† On the same principle he argues against the Luciferians in the following manner—"that the safety of the church depends on the dignity of the chief priest, (or bishop) to whom, if a peculiar power be not given, superior to that of others, there will be as many schisms as priests in the churches."‡ To the same purpose we find him admonishing Nepotian "to be subject to his chief priest, and to receive him as the father of his soul; for what Aaron and his sons were, that we know the bishop and presbyters to be."‖ It may also be observed, that in his *Catalogue of ecclesiastical wri-*

* "Et ut sciamus traditiones apostolicas sumptas de veteri testamento; quod Aaron, et filii ejus, et Levitæ, in templo fuerint, hoc sibi Episcopi, presbyteri atque diaconi vendicent in ecclesia." Epist. ad Evag.

† "Potentia divitiarum, et paupertatis humilitas, val sublimiorem vel inferiorem Episcopum non facit. Ceterum omnes apostolorum successores sunt." Epis. ad Evag.

‡ "Ecclesiæ salus in summi sacerdotis dignitate pendet, cui si non exors quædam, et ab omnibus eminens detur potestas, tot in ecclesiis efficientur schismata quot sacerdotes." Dialog. advers. Luciferian.

‖ "Esto subjectus pontifici tuo, et quasi animæ parentem suscipe: Quod Aaron et filios ejus, hos Episcopum et presbyteros esse noverimus." Epist. ad Nepot.

ters, he mentions "St. James the Just, called the brother of our Lord, as ordained by the apostles bishop of Jerusalem, Timothy as ordained bishop of Ephesus by St. Paul, and Polycarp bishop of Smyrna, by St. John:" And in the same work he cites the genuine epistles of Ignatius, as the third bishop of Antioch after the apostle Peter, in which epistles we know how clearly the distinction between bishop and presbyter is marked, and the authority of the superior order as firmly maintained. To all this may be added what he says, in his epistle against the Montanists, that whereas "among them the bishop was considered as but in the third degree, among us the bishops hold the place of the apostles."*

We have now taken a concise, but we believe correct enough view, both of the "testimony and opinion" of Jerome, in regard to the point in question between the advocates for and against Episcopacy. We have seen him admitting, in his own way, that the church of Alexandria had this form of ecclesiastical polity in it, from the days of St. Mark the Evangelist, and that it was adopted as a remedy for those schisms and confusions, which broke out in the days of the apostles, and was no longer delayed than the disease appeared. We have seen him also acknowledging, that the hierarchy of the Christian church was founded on apostolic tradition, and that in establishing the evangelical polity, the apostles had an eye to the legal economy, and considered the peace and unity of the church as depending on the authority of the bishops, whom he therefore represents as standing in the place of the apostles, and succeeding to all their ordinary powers. If these are the sentiments, which Jerome delivers in plain unequivocal language, when allowed to speak for himself, and without suffering any "violence to his expressions," the friends of Episcopacy need not be afraid of meeting with any opposi-

* "Apud eos Episcopus tertius est, apud nos apostolorum locum Episcopi tenent." Ep. 54.

tion either from his "opinion or his testimony;" since both are equally favourable to their cause, when not wrested to a sense, which would make him as inconsistent with himself as hostile to them.

If after all it should be thought, that Jerome's language, in some parts of his works, is of a doubtful nature, and seems to give an account of the origin of Episcopal government, somewhat different from that which has the concurring testimony of antiquity in its favour, we may still be allowed to ask, whether such writers as Clemens of Rome, Justin Martyr, Ignatius, Polycarp, Clemens of Alexandria, Irenæus, Tertullian, Origen, Cyprian, and many more, long prior to Jerome, were not as capable, and had not as good opportunities, as he, with all his knowledge of antiquity, could pretend to, of "investigating the origin of any ecclesiastical order or custom," and, therefore, of discovering what change, or whether any change had happened in the constitution of the church, from its first foundation to their own times? If such a question must be answered in the affirmative, we are equally certain, that they will all be found to agree in this, as a well known truth, that the ecclesiastical constitution, under which they lived, consisting of three distinct orders of church officers, with "discriminating powers, had been framed by the apostles, after the pattern set them by their blessed Master, and from them handed down, without change or interruption, by a regular and duly authorized succession.

We have observed, from the works of some of these early writers, how they were accustomed to argue against the heretics of those times, from the impossibility of their showing that regular succession of bishops from the apostles, which distinguished all the sound and orthodox parts of the Christian church. But how weak and silly had this argument been, if the heretics could at any time have proved a breach in that succession; much more could they have shown, by undoubted evidence, that it had no relation to the apostles,

and did not at all commence till about thirty or forty years after the last of them was removed from this world? Had this been a fact, known, or even but surmised at that time, we may well suppose, how eagerly it would have been laid hold of, by the enemies of the true faith, to cut down at once the whole force of that reasoning, which, founded on the apostolic succession of bishops, had been so repeatedly and powerfully employed against them.

The strength of this argument did not depend on any ingenious subtilty in the manner of stating it.—There was nothing connected with it, which could be considered as matter of abstruse speculation, that might be differently understood by the opposite parties. The whole point in question was to be decided by an appeal to those ecclesiastical records, from which the succession of bishops in the several churches might be easily ascertained; and no mistake was likely to happen, none indeed could generally prevail, when the public registers were so numerous, and so many monuments remained to bear witness to every important transaction, from the days of the apostles down to that very period, which some authors in these latter times have thought proper to fix, as the æra of a wonderful change in the constitution and government of the Christian church.—They have not indeed agreed as to the precise time when this supposed alteration took place; but in general their opinions seem to coincide pretty much with that of Dr. Campbell, who acknowledges, that "before the middle of the second century, a *subordination* in the ecclesiastic polity, which he calls primitive Episcopacy, *began* to obtain very generally throughout the Christian world, every single church or congregation having a plurality of presbyters, who, as well as the deacons, were all under the *superintendency* of one pastor or bishop."* Now, here is an acknowledgment

* "It was under these circumstances," says Mr. Gibbon, the historian, "that the lofty title of bishop began to raise itself above the humble

that this extraordinary change in the ecclesiastic polity, which consisted in the *subordination* of many, and the *superintendency* of one, had its *beginning* before the middle of the second century, that is, about forty or fifty years after the death of St. John. At this period, being the close of the apostolic age, it is supposed that the ecclesiastic polity was a state of perfect parity, every church or congregation being under the direction of a college of bishops or presbyters, the same name being applied to all, with some little distinction in the senior colleague, which though not easily defined, and, by our Professor's account, "very different from that which in process of time obtained," yet, he says, "served for a foundation to the edifice, that is, to the rise of Episcopal superiority."

But even with the advantage of this foundation, we shall find it very difficult to account for the edifice which was so quickly reared, and at a time when so few materials could be furnished for that purpose, either by avarice or ambition. Our Lecturer indeed thinks it "no reflection on the church in general, or even on the pastors in particular, to suppose, that however sincere their zeal for the cause of

appellation of presbyter; and while the latter remained the most natural distinction for the members of every Christian senate, the former was appropriated to the dignity of its new president.—The primitive bishops were considered only as the first of their equals, and the honourable servants of a free people. Whenever the Episcopal chair became vacant by death, a new president was chosen among the presbyters by the suffrage of the whole congregation, every member of which supposed himself invested with a sacred and sacerdotal character. Such was the mild and equal constitution by which the Christians were governed more than an hundred years after the death of the apostles. Every society formed within itself a separate and independent republic."—See a great deal more to the same purpose, from p. 328 to p. 341 of the 2d. vol. 8vo. of the *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire;* from which an attentive reader cannot fail to observe how closely our Christian Professor has imitated the sceptical historian. An *infidel* might have had reasons for slandering and abusing Episcopacy, of which a *believer* should have been ashamed to avail himself.

Christ might be, as it undoubtedly was with a very great majority, they would not be entirely superior to considerations either of interest or of ambition, when such considerations were not opposed by motives of a higher nature."* And we may ask, what higher motives could have been set in opposition to these worldly considerations, than those which must have daily presented themselves to the minds of the primitive pastors in the age to which we are now looking back, when many of them must have been ordained by the apostles themselves, or by their immediate successors, and all of them may be supposed to have possessed a considerable share of the apostolic spirit and disposition, and were at any rate exposed to the same hardships and sufferings, the same deprivation of all worldly comforts and conveniences, which the apostles had to encounter? Is it then to be imagined, that they would pretend to alter that form of ministry which the apostles had established in the church, or depart so soon from the rule, which, by the direction of the Holy Spirit, had been given them to walk by? Can it be credited, that men so humble, and heavenly minded, so meek and unassuming as these primitive pastors undeniably were, could dare to bring forward a system of ecclesiastic polity in direct opposition to that, which, by Christ's command, his apostles had delivered to the converted nations, and thus prefer a little temporary pre-eminence among their fellow servants on earth, to the eternal approbation of their great Lord and Master in heaven? Could such folly and presumption be expected from men who, in every other respect, had acted a wise, sober and consistent part, and rather than renounce their Redeemer, and a due regard to his institutions, had shown themselves ready and willing to endure, and many of them actually did endure, the most cruel and barbarous sufferings, which the malice of their heathen persecutors could possibly contrive

* Lecture viii.

as instruments of a spiteful rage against the faith of Jesus, and the order and unity which then adorned his church?—Could, for instance, the zealous and venerable Ignatius, who was such an ornament to that very period, in which the pretended innovation is supposed to have taken place;—could he have concurred in the base presumptuous scheme of new-modelling the frame and constitution of the church, when his whole desire was to contribute to its peace and preservation, and to bear all that his enemies could inflict, if so he might attain to be with its glorious Head, even Jesus Christ? Or could his illustrious contemporary, Polycarp, the great light of the Asiatic churches, have given his sanction to so bold and impious an undertaking; the man who, when urged to repent of his error and blaspheme Christ, replied—"Fourscore and six years have I served him, and he never did me any harm: how, then, can I blaspheme my King and my Saviour?"

Perhaps it will be said, that in the days of these holy martyrs, the change or innovation alluded to, was only beginning to make its appearance, and by advancing slowly in its progress, would be less apt to excite apprehension in that numerous body of church officers, whose station and powers in the church were at last so materially affected by it. Our Professor's plan of parochial Episcopacy, as delineated by his fanciful description, would seem a deviation, so small and inconsiderable, from his apostolic presbytery, as to create no alarm in the minds of those who did not, and perhaps could not, perceive how gradually it was approaching to a still greater change, leading insensibly to what he calls the next step of the hierarchy, "when prelacy, or diocesan Episcopacy succeeded the parochial, and *began* generally to prevail." Here again we are presented with another *beginning*, and what our Lecturer thinks a new system of ecclesiastic polity, which, not satisfied with calling *diocesan Episcopacy*, he chooses also to distinguish by the name of *prelacy;* a term which, in the vulgar lan-

guage of this country, being often connected with *popery*, has, with many, an invidious meaning attached to it. Yet we can see no good reason why this title should be considered as more descriptive of *diocesan* than of *parochial* Episcopacy, since the bishop had been surely as much a *prelate* (prælatus), or person preferred in his *parish*, as he afterwards was in his *diocese*, and Dr. Campbell acknowledges, not only that "it was a proper Episcopacy in respect of the disparity of the ministers," which is the very thing we contend for, but also "that it seems to have assumed the model of a proper *Episcopate*, *as the word is now understood*, before the middle of the second century." And if the case be really so, we should be glad to learn what occasion there was for our Professor taking so much pains to establish an imaginary distinction between his parochial and diocesan Episcopacy; which may truly be called a "distinction without a difference," as is evidently shown by his own quotations from *Burn's Ecclesiastical Law*, where that writer justly observes—"The cathedral church is the parish church of the whole diocese; which diocese was therefore commonly called *parochia* in ancient times, till the application of this name to the lesser branches into which it was divided, made it, for distinction's sake, to be called only by the name of diocese." Bingham also, a very industrious inquirer into the antiquities of the Christian church, whose authority we have already quoted on this subject,* informs us, "that the ancient name of an Episcopal diocese for three hundred years was commonly παροικια, which some mistake for a parish church, or single congregation; whereas, as learned men have rightly observed, it signified then, not the places or habitations near a church, but the towns or villages near a city, which, together with the city, was the bishop's παροικια, or, as we now call it, his diocese, the bounds of his ordinary care and jurisdiction.

* See page 186.

That thus it was, appears evidently from this, that the largest dioceses, such as those of Rome, Antioch, and Alexandria, which had many particular churches in them, were called by the same name; as the reader may find an hundred passages in Eusebius, where he uses the word παροικια, when he speaks of these large and populous cities, which had many particular churches in them."—He then adds the testimony of other writers to the same purpose, and infers from the whole, "that nothing can be plainer, than the use of the word παροικια for a diocese, to the fourth century; and now about this time the word diocese began to be used likewise."*

Such being the language and practice of the primitive times with regard to this matter, it was very difficult for our Professor to fix a precise date for the *beginning* of his *prelacy*, or *diocesan Episcopacy*, as distinguished from that which was *parochial*, and yet was a proper Episcopate, even "as the word is *now* understood." All that we find him attempting with this view, is in a passage of his eighth Lecture, where, speaking of "the first subdivision of the pastoral charge into smaller precincts, since called parishes, the name which had formerly belonged to the whole," he says, "there can be no doubt, that there had been instances of it in great cities, long before the expiration of the third century, in some, perhaps in Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, even before the expiration of the second, though it was far from being general till a considerable time after the third."† But as we agree with the Professor in this, that "a pastor's charge is properly the people, not the place," we can see no difference in the nature of prelacy, or Episcopacy, whether the place in wich the people reside, who are under the bishop's charge, be called a parish or a diocese; or whether his charge be of larger or smaller extent. It is the pre-

* See *Bingham's Antiquities*, vol. iii. p. 345, 346.

† Lecture viii.

eminence of office, or the superior authority annexed to the Episcopal character, that gives the true criterion of prelacy; and at whatever period that mark of distinction first appeared in the Christian church, if it did not originate from the apostles, and show itself in their immediate successors, it must have been considered as a very striking encroachment on the powers possessed by the parochial college of presbyters. They must thus have been reduced to a state of subordination and dependence, which it was strange that they did not perceive to be the effect of unwarranted usurpation on the part of the bishops, and, therefore, to be resisted by the presbyters with a degree of firmness and resolution worthy of the sacred and equal trust which had been committed to them.

Our Lecturer was aware, how unaccountable this must appear to every person acquainted with the common feelings of human nature, and, therefore, has endeavoured to obviate the difficulty in the best manner he could. "Some," he says, "have represented it, as an insuperable objection to the presbyterian hypothesis, concerning the rise of Episcopal superiority, that it seems to imply so great ambition in one part, and so great supineness (not to give it a worse name) in the rest of the primitive pastors ordained by the apostles, and by the apostolic men that came after them, as is perfectly incredible. This they seem to think a demonstration *a priori*, that the thing is impossible."* And we certainly do think it, if not impossible, yet at least highly improbable, and a thing which has never yet occurred in any similar case, either recorded in history, or handed down by tradition. Dr. Campbell, however, is very ingenious in pointing out the causes and motives, which, in his opinion, might lead to it; "and so far," says he, "am I from thinking that the ambition or the vices of the first ministers gave rise to their authority, that I am

* Lecture vi.

certain that this effect is much more justly ascribed to their virtues. An aspiring disposition rouses jealousy—jealousy puts people on their guard. There needs no more to check ambition, whilst it remains unarmed with either wealth or power. But there is nothing which men are not ready to yield to distinguished merit, especially when matters are in that state, wherein every kind of pre-eminence, instead of procuring wealth and secular advantages, exposes but to greater danger, and to greater suffering."

Such is the train of reasoning, with a good deal more to the same purpose, made use of by our Professor, to overthrow the "demonstration," to which he had alluded, and to make it appear, that the rise of Episcopal superiority is to be accounted for, by ascribing it to distinguished merit, and distinguished danger, on the part of those who were promoted to that superior dignity. That the first of these causes could not operate in giving *rise* to the "Episcopal superiority," is evident from what has been already said on the nature of it. And if this superiority be considered as a bold deviation from the plan of ecclesiastic polity laid down by our Lord's apostles, and a presumptuous departure from the parity which they had established, it could not possibly receive any countenance or support from men of "distinguished merit" in the service of the church. With such a character, they could never think of introducing, much less of accepting, any superiority or pre-eminence above their equal brethren, whereby they might make themselves lords over God's heritage, in the manner which he had forbidden. This was a species of merit as unknown to these primitive times, as it was unworthy of the Christian pastors who lived in them. The pious Irenæus of Lyons, the zealous Cyprian of Carthage, with his contemporaries, Fabian and Cornelius of Rome, and many more whom we could name of the "noble army of martyrs," were as much *prelates*, or *diocesan bishops*, as any that ever came after them under that denomination, and some of

them lived at the times, when even Dr. Campbell admits the introduction of diocesan Episcopacy in a variety of instances. Is it then to be supposed, that all these holy and venerable *prelates* would encounter the severest trials, and yield themselves to a violent death, in the humble hope of receiving a crown of life, for assuming a superiority which did not belong to them, and transgressing the limits assigned to their ministerial order by that Lord, from whom the whole power of it was derived, and the whole reward of a faithful discharge of duty to be expected? If such a conduct was far from giving them any merit in the sight of God, it ought as little to have procured for them any honourable mark of distinction among men; especially among their fellow pastors, who were thus held out as placed in an inferior station, on account of their inferior merit, or rather because they had no merit at all, not even that of resisting such a daring innovation, and striving to preserve the rights of their own order from being swallowed up by this usurped superiority of rank, which, though but newly introduced, was rapidly spreading, under the name of *diocesan Episcopacy*.

It is strange indeed, that through all the churches of Asia, Africa, and Europe, the "senior brother" in every college of pastors, should thus at once have trampled on the rights and privileges of his colleagues, as if a general conspiracy had been entered into for that purpose: and yet it is still more strange and unaccountable, that not one of these innumerable pastors should have made a single remonstrance against so flagrant an usurpation, as if they too had all combined, at one and the same time, to betray their trust, and allow themselves to be thus shamefully degraded. It is as impossible to conceive that any such thing should have happened then, as to believe now, that all the moderators of the several synods under the Scotch establishment, would be allowed to assume at once not only the title, but the superior rank and authority, of diocesan bishops, with-

out the smallest opposition from any one member of these synods, or the least notice taken of such a wonderful change of system.—Nay, the difficulty must be much greater, if we wish to make the cases similar: For then we must suppose the whole of Christendom to be under the same form of church government as that which is established in this northern part of Britain; to be convinced too that this form of government is of apostolic institution, and yet permit a few aspiring ecclesiastics to overturn it, and introduce in all the Christian churches a new, unknown scheme of "Episcopal superiority," favourable only to the views of those who were its first contrivers.

It is further to be considered, that these few ambitious prelates, who were thus so astonishingly successful in getting themselves acknowledged to be true diocesan bishops, were widely scattered over the face of the earth, and for the most part knew very little of one another, and could hold no general meeting for the purpose of concerting their plan, or of obtaining the sanction of civil power to recommend it. And yet so it happened, that under all these disadvantages, they could contrive to learn each other's sentiments, to think and act alike in every stage of this refined system of policy, and at length were able to exhibit an entire new form of ecclesiastic government, under the name of diocesan Episcopacy; nay, had the amazing address to persuade the whole Christian world, that so far from any change having taken place, the church of Christ had all along, from the days of the apostles, been Episcopal. Nothing can add to the degree of surprise, which must be excited by all this inexplicable procedure, unless it be the consideration of what Dr. Campbell mentions as another cause of the rise of Episcopal pre-eminence, that "instead of procuring wealth and secular advantages, it only exposed to greater danger, and to greater suffering." This, we believe, was really the case, in the severe and trying times to which we are now looking back. As soon as an edict passed for per-

secuting the Christians in any part of the church, the bishops were immediately aimed at, as the most guilty persons, and the first that were exposed to the fury of their persecutors. As their danger was thus imminent, their labour too was often no less severe; for upon them was laid the principal care of the flock, which frequently required the greatest vigilance and attention in the shepherd. To the undergoing all this toil and trouble, they were impelled by a sense of duty; and were supported under it, by the hope of having their services accepted by their blessed Master. But could they have felt the force of this motive, or indulged this hope, had they been conscious at the same time, that they were violating his commands, and arrogating to themselves a power and pre-eminence, which he had expressly forbidden? And of this they must have been conscious, had their Episcopal superiority been an infringement of the apostolic institution, and an entire subversion of that system of ecclesiastic parity, which, by their Lord's command, the teachers of the nations had formed and left with his church, that it might be there retained to the end of the world.

In accounting for so early and so universal a departure from this supposed system of equality among the first Christian pastors, our Lecturer alludes to the origin of civil government, and thinks it "easy to evince, that the parallel case of monarchy will, in the nature of things, be found equally impossible."* The friends of that form of government will, no doubt, think it equally easy to remove this impossibility, by bringing what they take to be clear, unquestionable evidence, that monarchy, as well as Episcopacy, is founded on divine appointment. But supposing the case to be otherwise, and that monarchy, or, as our Professor calls it, "the dominion of one man over innumerable multitudes of men," was really a breach of their

* Lecture vi.

original equality, and an encroachment on those "natural rights of man," the maintaining of which has often made a noise in the world, and, of late years, has been attended with the most shocking barbarities; is it then possible to believe, that such revolutions work their way in a calm and quiet manner, and are allowed to pass without notice, as the effects of natural causes, "in the ordinary progression of human things?"—Yet of a similar nature, though perhaps not so difficult to be accomplished, was the change, which is supposed to have taken place in the church, by the introduction of prelacy, or the setting up in every diocese, one pastor above the rest, vested with all the powers, which have ever since been assigned to the Episcopal office. Such a change as this from that pastoral equality, which, it is said, had previously subsisted from the days of the apostles, we should think, must have excited some alarm, or produced some disturbance in the church, or at least have been taken some notice of, by the many writers, who record the transactions of that very period in which this remarkable change is pretended to have happened.

Let us but consider the high regard always expressed among the primitive Christians for every thing which they believed to be of apostolic institution; what a controversy, for instance, was raised on that account, and carried on for many years, with the greatest zeal on both sides, about the proper time of observing Easter, the annual festival which they all celebrated in memory of our Lord's resurrection. And when such a question as this was deemed to be of so much importance, although it regarded merely the day that was supposed to be fixed on by the apostles, can it be imagined that the constitution and form of government which they had established in the church, would not be held in the highest veneration, or that every care would not be taken to preserve it pure and entire in the very state in which the apostles had left it? When any schism or heresy broke out in those days, we find the abettors of it assigning

various causes, and often at a loss what to assign for their breaking away from the communion of the church, and, as it was then called, "setting up altar against altar." But had they known, or suspected, that any change or innovation had been introduced into the government of the church, such as our modern opposers of prelacy, or Episcopacy, represent it to be, they would have eagerly brought it forward, as a sufficient reason for their abandoning a society which had submitted to such irregular and usurped authority. The authors of this ambitious project would have been held up to popular indignation, as "lording it over God's heritage," and it would not have been left to the declaimers "in our more enlightened times," to exhibit in its proper colours "the priestly pride of such prelatical preachers." Yet nothing of this kind was ever heard of, in the times to which we are now referring. No ecclesiastical historian of that or the succeeding ages takes the least notice of any such departure from apostolic institution: No adversary of the church in those days ever objected to it: And from all this silence both in friends and enemies; from nothing being said either to justify or condemn the change that is supposed to have happened, we may certainly conclude that no such change had taken place; but that the government of the church had still continued, without any interruption, what the apostles had left it, a proper and regular Episcopacy, whether we call it parochial or diocesan, which makes no difference as to the nature of the institution, or the authority on which it was founded.

We may, therefore, sum up what has been said on this point, in the words of a most learned and distinguished divine, whose works have been long admired for their genuine piety, and who, in asserting Episcopacy to be of divine institution, appeals thus to the faith and practice of Christendom—"Be ye followers of me, as I am of Christ, is an apostolical precept. We have seen how the apostles

have followed Christ, how their tradition is consequent of divine institution. Next let us see how the church has followed the apostles, as the apostles have followed Christ. Catholic practice is the next basis of the power and order of Episcopacy. For—let us consider—Is it imaginable that all the world should, immediately after the death of the apostles, conspire together, to seek themselves, and not the things that are of Jesus Christ, to erect a government of their own devising, not ordained by Christ, not delivered by his apostles, and to relinquish a divine foundation, and the apostolical superstructure, which, if it was at all, was a part of our Master's will, which whosoever knew and observed not, was to be beaten with many stripes? Is it imaginable, that those gallant men, who could not be brought off from the prescriptions of gentilism, to the seeming impossibilities of Christianity, without evidence of miracle, and clearness of demonstration upon agreed principles, should all, upon their first adhesion to Christianity, make an universal dereliction of so considerable a part of their Master's will, and leave gentilism to destroy Christianity; for he that erects another economy than what the Master of the family hath ordained, destroys all those relations of mutual dependence which Christ hath made for the conjunction of all the parts of it, and so destroys it in the formality of a Christian congregation or family?—Is it then imaginable, that all those glorious martyrs, that were so strict observers of divine sanctions and canons apostolical, would be also so assiduous in contemning the government that Christ left for his family, and erect another? To what purpose were all their watchings, their banishments, their fears, their fastings, and formidable austerities, and, finally, their so frequent martyrdoms? Of what excellency or avail, if, after all, they should be hurried out of the world, and all their fortunes and possessions, by untimely, by disgraceful, by dolorous deaths, to be set before a tribunal, to give account of their universal

neglect, and contemning of Christ's last testament, in so great an affair as the whole government of his church? If all Christendom should be guilty of so open, so united a defiance against their Master, by what argument or confidence can any misbeliever be persuaded to Christianity, which, in all its members, for so many ages together, is so unlike its first institution as in its most public affair, and for matter of order of the most general concernment, is so contrary to the first birth? Where are the promises of Christ's perpetual assistance, of the impregnable permanence of the church against the gates of hell, of the spirit of truth to lead it into all truth, if she be guilty of so grand an error as to erect a throne, where Christ hath made all level, or appointed others to sit in it, than whom he suffers? Either Christ hath left no government, or most certainly the church hath retained that government, whatsoever it is."* And he concludes the whole of his reasoning on this subject with the application of that golden rule of Vincentius Lirinensis—" We must take care above all things to adhere to that which has been believed, in all places, at all times, and by all persons; for this is truly and properly catholic:" And nothing was ever more so than the government of the church by bishops. Therefore, as the same ancient author observes—" It never was, is, nor ever shall be lawful to teach Christian people any other thing, than that which has been received"† from a primitive fountain, and has descended in the stream of catholic, uninterrupted succession.

* See section xxii. of an excellent tract, entitled—" *Of the sacred Order and Offices of Episcopacy,*" &c. bound up with the other polemical works of Dr. Jeremy Taylor, chaplain to Charles the First, and bishop of Down and Connor.

† " Magnopere curandum est, ut id teneamus quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus creditum est. Hoc est enim vere proprieque catholicum.—Annunciare ergo Christianis catholicis, præter id quod acceperunt, nunquam licuit, nunquam licet, nunquam licebit." Vincent. Lirin. adv. Hæres. cap. 3—14.

In opposition, however, to all these testimonies of ancient times, which have been brought forward in support of the apostolic or Episcopal succession, there is an argument still used by some writers, to lessen the force of so much accumulated evidence, by impressing on the mind as much doubt and uncertainty as possible, with regard to the manner in which this succession has been preserved, or carried on, from one age of the church to another. The danger of its failing, and the difficulty of knowing whether it has not so failed, or suffered interruption, were, therefore, topics, of which our learned Professor would not fail to lay hold, when striving to maintain his opinion, that "the validity of God's covenant," as he expresses himself, "cannot depend on the ministry, or his promises be rendered ineffectual to the humble believer on account of any defect in the priesthood." To this he had been alluding in the beginning of his fourth Lecture, and after pointing out the difficulty of "examining the import of names and titles, and the authenticity of endless genealogies," he recurs to the subject, as an inference from the case of the thankful Samaritan, whose faith was accepted, although he did not go and show himself to the priests: And yet—"no order of men," says our Lecturer, "existing at present in the Christian church, can give any evidence of a divine right, compared with that of the tribe of Levi, and of the posterity of Aaron in the Jewish."* Now, if we should say, that the very reverse of this is the case, the position might be safely maintained on this ground, that it could not be so easily proved, that no spurious child had ever been introduced into the family of the high priest, as that no unordained person had ever been admitted to the Episcopal office. But, indeed, we have good reason to believe, that in either case, nothing of this kind has ever happened. It was sufficient for the Israelite to know, that

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the priesthood under the law having been established in the family of Aaron, no doubt had ever been entertained of that family being preserved pure from any illegitimate mixture. And the Christian has at least equal ground to be satisfied, that the government of the church under the gospel having been established by the apostles, in the way of Episcopal succession, that succession has never yet failed in the Christian world, however it may have been in some places despised, for two or three centuries past, and thrown aside as unnecessary.

It is a circumstance, that must be well known to those who are acquainted with the history of the Christian church, that for the preservation of the Episcopal succession, nothing more was requisite than a proper observance of the canons made by the church for that purpose, and a due regard to the doctrine, on which these canons were founded. It was always a received doctrine in every part of the church, that no ordination was valid, but that of bishops; and the earliest canons required, that every bishop should be ordained or consecrated by two or three bishops. By this means, the Episcopal succession has been carefully preserved in every age, from the days of the apostles to the present time; and since it was universally believed, that none but bishops could ordain, it was morally impossible, that any person could be received as bishops, who had not been so ordained. This was the reason, which *Mr. Law* assigned for the security of the Episcopal succession, in one of his admirable letters to *Bishop Hoadly*, and then applied it in this manner—"Now, is it not morally impossible, that in our church any one should be made a bishop without Episcopal ordination? Is there any possibility of forging orders, or stealing a bishopric by any other stratagem? No; it is morally impossible, because it is an acknowledged doctrine amongst us, that a bishop can only be ordained by bishops. Now, as this doctrine must necessarily prevent any one being a

bishop without Episcopal ordination in our age, so it must have the same effect in every other age, as well as ours; and, consequently, it is as reasonable to believe, that the succession of bishops was not broke in any age since the apostles, as that it was not broke in our own kingdom within these forty years. For the same doctrine, which preserves it forty years, may as well preserve it forty hundred years, if it was equally believed in all that space of time. And that this has been the constant doctrine of the church, we have the most undoubted evidence. We believe the scriptures are not corrupted, because it was always a received doctrine in the church, that they were the standing rule of faith, and because the providence of God may well be supposed to preserve such books, as were to convey to every age the means of salvation. The same reasons prove the great improbability that this succession should ever be broke, both because it was always against a received doctrine to break it, and because we may justly hope the providence of God would keep up his own institution."*

Such is the clear, satisfactory train of reasoning, by which a decisive answer is at once afforded to all the "dark and critical questions," that can possibly arise, even in such a fertile mind, as that of our late learned Lecturer, "about the import of names and titles, and the authenticity of endless genealogies," the examination of which did not appear in such a formidable view, in the dawn of the reformation, and when, after a lapse of near a thousand years, men began again to look into these questions, and to inquire into

* See the second of the *Three Letters* written by the Rev. William Law to Bishop Hoadly, and lately reprinted in a collection of tracts, called "*The Scholar armed against the Errors of the Time*," &c. In the preface to which, this reason is assigned for republishing Mr. Law's Letters, that—"though incomparable for truth of argument, brightness of wit, and purity of English, and honoured with the highest admiration at their first appearance, they are now in a manner forgotten."

the foundation of that ecclesiastical authority, which they still saw to be necessary for the preservation of the faith, the unity and order of the church. Even those who are considered as the founders of the presbyterian form of church government, did not object to Episcopacy, on account of any doubt or uncertainty as to the regular succession of bishops. So far from entertaining any suspicion or prejudice of that kind, they reckoned it a most unjust aspersion to say, that they condemned or threw off Episcopacy, because they were obliged to do without it in Geneva, where they thought it impossible to have bishops, without submitting to that papal supremacy, which they had lately renounced. But as this was not the case in England, they highly applauded the Episcopal hierarchy of the English church, and congratulated the nation on their happiness in retaining it. This appears from their several letters to Queen Elizabeth, to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and others of the English bishops, in which they earnestly prayed to God for the continuance of so great a blessing, bemoaned their own unhappy circumstances in being deprived of it, because they had no magistrate to protect them, and owned that the want of Episcopacy was a great defect, but called it their misfortune rather than their fault.—" As for their excuse," we shall only say, in the words of a masterly writer on this subject, " we do not now meddle with it, for, we think, it was not a good one; they might have had bishops from other places, though there were none among themselves but those who were popish, and they might as well have had bishops as presbyters, without the countenance of the civil magistrate. It might have raised a great persecution against them, but that is nothing as to the truth of the thing; and if they thought it a truth, they ought to have suffered for it."*

* See a " *Discourse on the Qualifications requisite to administer the Sacraments,*" by the celebrated Charles Leslie, and republished, with many

But whatever weight may be allowed to their plea of necessity, it is evident, from their having recourse to it as an excuse for their conduct, that they considered the reformation, in which they were engaged, as a renouncing and withdrawing from, not pure and genuine Episcopacy, but the corruptions, which papal usurpation had grafted upon it. This is plainly and openly avowed by their great leader Calvin, who, in opposing the claims of the Romish church, says—"If they would give us an hierarchy, in which the bishops did so rise above others, as that they would not refuse to be subject to Christ, and to depend on him as their only Head, and be referred to him; in which they would so preserve brotherly communion among themselves, as to be united by nothing so much as his truth, then, indeed, I should confess, that there is no anathema, of which those persons are not worthy, if any such there be, who would not reverence such an hierarchy, and submit to it with the utmost obedience."* And such an hierarchy he acknowledges that the church of England possessed, to which he therefore professes to give both inward reverence, and outward respect, assuring the bishops, that he would gladly have served them, in settling the affairs of their church.

of his other tracts, in the *Scholar Armed*, &c. And in confirmation of the truth of Mr. Leslie's remark, "that the Genevan reformers might have had bishops from other places," see an *Ecclesiastical History of Scotland*, &c. by the Rev. John Skinner, vol. ii. p. 130, &c. where an account is given of no fewer than ten bishops, who, in the beginning of the reformation, renounced the errors of popery, and could have been the means of preserving the Episcopal order in any society that chose to accept of it.

* "Talem si nobis hierarchiam exhibeant, in qua sic emineant Episcopi, ut Christo subesse non recusent, et ab illo tanquam unico capite pendeant, et ad ipsum referantur; in qua sic inter se fraternam societatem colant, ut non alio modo quam ejus veritate sint colligati, tum vero nullo non anathemate dignos fatear, si qui erunt, qui non eam revereantur, summaque obedientia observent."—*De Necess. Eccles. Reform.*

To the same purpose we find Beza expressing his sentiments, in language as strong as it was possible to use on such an occasion—"If, however, there be any," says he, "which you can hardly make me believe, who reject the whole order of bishops, God forbid that any man of a sound mind should assent to the madness of such persons."* And speaking of the government of the church of England by bishops, he says—"Let her enjoy that singular blessing of God, which I wish may be ever continued to her."† Many more testimonies of a similar nature might be produced, to show how little countenance was given by these leading reformers abroad to their pretended followers in this country, who would be satisfied with nothing less than the entire abolition of Episcopacy, as "being a great and insupportable grievance, and contrary to the inclinations of the generality of the people."‡ It were easy to show how widely they differed in this respect from those whom they considered as promoting the same cause in other countries. One remarkable instance of such difference of sentiment appears from what is recorded of the learned Blondel, who is said to have concluded his "apology for the opinion of Jerome," with words to this purpose—"By all that we have said to assert the rights of the presbytery, we do not intend to invalidate the ancient and apostolical constitution of Episcopal pre-eminence. But we believe, that wheresoever it is established conformably to the ancient canons, it must be carefully preserved; and wheresoever by some heat of contention, or otherwise, it has been put down or violated, it ought to be reverently restored." We are farther informed, that "as the book

* "Si qui sunt autem, (quod sane mihi haud facile persuaseris) qui omnem Episcoporum ordinem rejiciunt, absit, ut quisquam satis sanæ mentis furoribus illorum assentiatur."

† "Fruatur sane ista singulari Dei beneficentia, quæ utinam sit illi perpetua." Tract. de Minist. Eccl. Grad. cap. i. et xviii.

‡ See *Claim of Right*, after the Revolution in 1688.

had been written at the earnest request of the assembly at Westminster, and especially of the Scots; when their agents in Paris saw this conclusion of Mr. Blondel's manuscript, they expostulated with him very loudly, for marring all the good he had done in his book, disappointing the expectation of the assembly, and showing himself an enemy, instead of a friend, to their holy covenant; this they urged upon him with such vehemency, and unwearied importunity, that they prevailed with him to put out that conclusion."* His intention however of admitting it, sufficiently shows what his sentiments were on this subject, and how far he was from abetting or approving those violent measures, which were then in agitation for overturning that ancient and apostolic constitution of the church, which he wished to see carefully preserved, wherever it had been regularly established.

We shall only take notice of another testimony, given by a divine of the presbyterian establishment in Holland, who could not be suspected of any prejudice in favour of Episcopacy. This is the celebrated Mr. Le Clerc, whose words, as quoted by the present bishop of Lincoln, are these—"I have always professed to believe, that Episcopacy is of apostolical institution, and consequently very good, and very lawful; that man had no manner of right to change it in any place, unless it was impossible otherwise to reform the abuses that crept into Christianity; that it was justly preserved in England, where the reformation was practicable without altering it; that, therefore, the protestants in England, and other places, where there are bishops, do very ill to separate from that discipline; that they would still do much worse in attempting to destroy it, in order to set up presbytery, fanaticism and anarchy. Things ought not to

* This important piece of information is given at full length in a letter from Dr. P. du Moulin to Dr. Durell, and published in the Appendix to his *View of the Government and Public Worship of God in the reformed Churches beyond the Seas*, p. 339, 340.

be turned into a chaos, nor people seen every where without a call, and without learning pretending to inspiration. Nothing is more proper to prevent them than the Episcopal discipline, as by law established in England, especially when those that preside in church government, are persons of penetration, sobriety and discretion."*—Yet this same Mr. Le Clerc exhibits a strong proof of the inconsistency of those writers on this subject who, if they do not halt between two opinions, seem desirous however to keep well with both sides; for, arguing in another part of his works, against the necessity of Episcopal government, he tells us—"It is nothing to the purpose to show, that *Christ* and his apostles instituted this form of church government, and that the church never had any other kind of government in it for above fifteen hundred years from our Saviour's days downwards, which, though it be so clearly evidenced, that the truth of it cannot be denied, yet it is of no weight, nor deserves to be regarded. For those, who would make the hierarchy necessary to the constitution of the Christian church, ought to prove, that God instituted Christianity for the sake of the Episcopal order, and that the Episcopal order was not instituted for the sake of Christianity.—For if this order was appointed for the sake of the church (which they cannot deny) they must also acknowledge, that if it be more advantageous to the church in some places, to have this order abolished, it is not amiss to lay it aside in such places."†

Now, this is an argument for abolishing the Episcopal order, which, if carried to its full extent, will equally serve to prove the lawfulness or even expediency of laying aside every "outward and visible sign" in religion, nay, even the scriptures themselves; since it may justly enough be said,

* See Bishop Pretyman's *Elements of Christian Theology*, vol. ii. p. 400, 401.

† *Bibliotheque*, tom. ix. p. 159, as quoted by Dr. Brett in his *Account of Church Government*, &c. p. 111, 112.

that Christianity was not instituted for the sake of the scriptures, but the scriptures were written for the sake of Christianity, that the church might have a certain rule to walk by; and therefore, when any church judges it more advantageous to be without the use of the scriptures, there is nothing amiss in laying it aside, as the church of Rome has done, for what she is pleased to think the greater benefit of Christianity. By the same reasoning, the two sacraments of baptism and the Lord's supper, being instituted for the sake of Christianity, and as outward means of conveying an inward grace, they too may safely enough be laid aside, when any body of pretended Christians shall feel themselves so inwardly moved by the spirit, as to stand in no need of such outward means of obtaining its grace and influence; and the church of Rome is the less to be blamed for taking away the cup from the laity, since, according to Le Clerc's argument, she might have deprived them of the whole sacrament, had she thought it more for the advantage of the church so to do.

These are modes of reasoning, to which, as advocates for the truth as it is in Christ, we can never be obliged to have recourse. We know, that the holy scriptures, and the sacred institutions of Christianity, were designed by its blessed Founder to be continued in his church, even unto the end of the world; and, therefore, neither the church of Rome, nor any other church, can ever set aside the use of the scriptures, or the ministration of the sacraments, whole and entire, as they were instituted by Christ himself: And we see no reason why the same may not be said of the Episcopal government of the church, which, being appointed by Christ himself, who had all power given him in heaven and earth for that purpose, cannot be set aside by any human authority, or on any pretence whatever. We do not say that Christianity was instituted for the sake of the outward polity of the church, or the church for the sake of the Episcopal order; but we may justly say, what

is plainly said in scripture, and was constantly professed in the purest ages of the gospel, that the belief of the "holy catholic church," being a part of the faith which Christianity requires, and the Episcopal order a part of what we are taught to believe, concerning the constitution and government of the church, no separation must be attempted of what our God and Saviour has thus joined together. We must receive his scheme of salvation according to the plan and the terms on which he has offered it to us; and notwithstanding all that Mr. Le Clerc and other writers of the same stamp have affirmed to the contrary, we must conclude, that the necessity of Episcopal government is most undeniably proved, when we show that it was instituted by Christ and his apostles, and continued to be the only form of church government for fifteen hundred years and upwards.

The strength of the arguments which we have now been handling in defence of the apostolic Episcopacy, lies in this undoubted truth, that the Christian priesthood is a divine positive institution, which, as it could have no beginning but by means of God's appointment, so neither could it be continued but in the way which he had been pleased to appoint for its continuance. The apostolic practice plainly showed what the method was which God had chosen for that purpose: For Christ was in all that the apostles did, and God was "in Christ reconciling the world to himself." The ministry of this reconciliation was committed to the apostles; and we have seen how that ministry was branched out into three distinct orders, and that the persons severally invested with them, towards the end of the apostolic age, were distinguished from each other by the appropriate titles of bishop, presbyter and deacon: A distinction which evidently took place in conformity with that which had been established in the Jewish church, of high priest, priest and Levite. That such a resemblance would appear between the Israelitish and Christian economy, may be justly in-

ferred from this consideration, that the former was designed to be the figure and forerunner of the latter, and that the author of both was the same all-wise and merciful God, who would certainly contrive and order whatever was best for answering his own gracious purposes. This was a matter which could only be settled by divine wisdom and goodness, and, therefore, would not be left to the determination of human prudence. For if it be true, as Dr. Campbell has affirmed it to be "certain, that one model of church government may be much better calculated for promoting the belief and obedience of the gospel than another," we may as certainly conclude that such a model would be prescribed by the divine Founder of the church, as he knew to be best calculated for promoting the ends of infinite mercy and goodness. This was the object which he had in view, by appointing the orders of the ministry, and regulating the whole sacred service under the dispensation of the law; and we cannot suppose that he would leave that of the gospel in an irregular or unsettled condition, and not make sufficient provision for the permanent order and polity of that church which he came in person to establish and to build on such a rock, as that the gates of hell should not prevail against it. To say then "*with freedom*," as our Professor does, "that if a particular form of polity had been essential to the church, it had been laid down in another manner in the sacred books,"* is, in our opinion, to speak with more *freedom* than is becoming on such a subject, especially when any person may see, who is not blinded by prejudice, that there is "a particular form of polity laid down in the sacred books," both in what our Lord *said* to his apostles, and in what they *did* in consequence of his directions; and all this laid down, if not in such a manner as Dr. Campbell would have dictated, yet so as to enable the primitive church perfectly to understand

* Lecture iv.

the plan, and continue the form of polity which the apostles had begun, and which form, we have seen, was properly, and in the true sense of the word, Episcopal.

If Dr. Campbell did not see this in the same light with us, and was disposed to put a different construction on what is laid down in the sacred books, we can only regret this circumstance, as an additional evidence in support of his own observation, " that even good and learned men allow their judgments to be warped by the sentiments and custom of the sect which they prefer; and the true partizan of whatever denomination, always inclines to correct the diction of the spirit by that of the party."* Foreseeing, no doubt, that this would be more particularly the case, in the article of church government, our Lecturer proposed an appeal to those early writers, who, by his own account, as to what depends on *testimony*, in explaining any part of scripture which is thought to be doubtful, " are in every case, wherein no particular passion can be suspected to have swayed them, to be preferred before modern interpreters or annotators." Agreeing very cordially with him in this opinion, respecting the *testimony* of the fathers, we have listened to the evidence of these unexceptionable witnesses, and have found it, from the general and uniform tenor of their writings, to be full and direct, in favour of apostolic Episcopacy, as the invariable form of government, which had obtained in the Christian church.—This was a matter of fact, in relation to which their testimony could not be doubted; and if we consider the nature of the thing, it was surely " a case, wherein no particular passion could be suspected to have swayed them." The apostolic institution of Episcopacy was a truth believed, and openly avowed, at a time when no worldly temptation could have operated in producing that belief, or supporting that " particular form of ecclesiastic polity." There was no room

* See his note on Mat. iii. 11.—in his *Translation of the Gospels.*

for a spirit of pride or ambition to exert its influence on the minds of Christian pastors, when the highest office in the church, so far from securing to those invested with it any portion of worldly honour, or legal revenue, served only to expose them to a greater degree of reproach and poverty. The station of a bishop was that of the most imminent danger; and whoever possessed that degree of zeal and firmness which induced him to accept it, was almost certain, as soon as persecution commenced, to fall the first victim to the fury of his enemies.

While the Episcopal character was thus held up, as the principal mark to be aimed at by the rage of heathen oppression, we can hardly suppose that any other motive would have been sufficient to the undertaking an office so peculiarly encompassed by danger and difficulty, but the firm conviction of its being absolutely necessary to the maintenance of order and unity in the church, and to the preservation of that apostolic commission, from which must be derived, by regular succession, all the right that any man can have to minister in holy things. The form of this ministry, and the several degrees of office by which it has been always distinguished, we have now fully considered; and by every argument adapted to the subject, we have seen it clearly evinced, that the constitution of the church, as established by its divine Founder, and given in charge to his chosen apostles, was by them transmitted to their several successors, and so handed down through the primitive ages as a regular diocesan Episcopacy. This is the plain and important fact, which we have been endeavouring to establish as the second part of our plan, with all the original evidence in its favour, which could be required from scripture, and all the additional testimony which has since been afforded to its support, by "ANTIQUITY, UNIVERSALITY and CONSENT." We may therefore be allowed to recommend, as a matter of undoubted certainty, and worthy of the most serious consideration, what was

proposed as the title of this chapter—" That the church of Christ, in which his religion is received and embraced, is that spiritual society in which the ministration of holy things is committed to the three distinct orders of bishops, presbyters, and deacons, deriving their authority from the apostles, as those apostles received their commission from Christ."

CHAPTER III.

A Part of this Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church, though deprived of the Support of Civil Establishment, does still exist in this Country, under the Name of the Scotch Episcopal Church, *whose Doctrine, Discipline, and Worship, as happily agreeing with that of the first and purest Ages of Christianity, ought to be steadily adhered to by all who profess to be of the Episcopal Communion, in this Part of the Kingdom.*

IT is a well known fact, that in all the nations of the world, where any sense of a God or religion has been preserved, certain persons have always been set apart, as the more immediate servants of that God, and for performing the more solemn offices of his religion. The sacred function appropriated to these persons has, for the same reason, been ever considered as a divine and most salutary institution. This much may be gathered even from the dark records of heathen antiquity. But, if, wishing for clearer information than these can afford, we consult the sacred history, we shall find this matter set in a just and true light. The nature of the priesthood is there laid down in the plainest manner, the design of it fully explained, and its authority placed on the only proper foundation. The mediation of a Redeemer, as absolutely necessary to the salvation of mankind, is there held forth as the source of that typical priesthood, and those figurative sacrifices, which the law of God appointed and required, in all that period which preceded the incarnation of the promised Saviour.—It was from their relation to him, and dependence on him, that both priests and sacrifices derived all their honour and efficacy: And when at last this glorious Intercessor " appeared upon

earth, to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself," we are assured, that "he did not glorify himself to be made an High Priest, but received this honour from his Father that sent him, and was called of God, as was Aaron."* In consequence of this high and heavenly commission, he stood forth as the great High Priest of our profession, and having purchased his church with his own blood, he not only "died, but rose again, that he might be Lord both of the dead and of the living." It was, therefore, after his resurrection that he was heard to declare, that "all power was given unto him in heaven and in earth;" and with this declaration he introduced the commission which he then gave his apostles, delegating to them such a portion of his power as was necessary for authorizing them to convert the nations to his faith, and teach them to observe whatever he had commanded, even unto the end of the world. From the extent of time allotted to the execution of this commission, we may see, it was impossible for the apostles to execute it fully, and to that extent, in their own persons, or in any other way, than by doing what they could themselves, and transmitting to others the same charge, which they had received, that so a succession of such commissioned officers might be continued in the church, to the end of time.

The manner in which this succession has been carried on, and the certainty of its having met with no breach or interruption, from the days of the apostles to the present time, have both, we presume, been sufficiently established in the preceding chapter, which has also exhibited the most ample and satisfactory evidence, to prove the apostolic institution of the three distinct orders of bishops, presbyters, and deacons, to whom the Christian ministry was originally committed, and by whom, according to their several degrees of office, it has always been exercised in

* Heb. v. 4, 5.

every sound and regular part of the Christian church. Those who have opposed this form of ecclesiastical polity, have often been challenged to produce evidence of any national or provincial church, existing without it, for fifteen hundred years after the first publication of the Christian faith. The corruptions, which, for a great part of that period, unhappily prevailed in the Western nations, did not, and could not affect the validity of the apostolic commission, or put an end to the ministerial power, which it was designed to convey. The church of Rome, with all the errors and abuses cleaving to it, which made the reformation necessary, did not cease to be a church, any more than a man, whose soul is corrupted by vice, and his body marred by disease, ceases to be a man, while his soul and body continue united. It often happened that the Jewish church was sadly infected with idolatry, and addicted to many enormities, which provoked to anger the Lord their God; yet they still continued a visible church upon earth, till he at last thought proper to remove their candlestick, and allowed "the Romans to come and take away their place and nation." Though he frequently raised up prophets to warn them of their danger, and call them to repentance, yet he never instituted a new order of priests, nor authorized any but the sons of Aaron, to appear in his holy place, and offer the sacrifices prescribed by the law. Their corruptions did not divest them of the priesthood, nor make any breach in the order of succession, till it was completely taken away, and their whole economy dissolved. And so the church of Rome, while permitted to retain a succession of the Christian priesthood, by its preservation of the Episcopal order, must also have the power of conferring that order, although it could have no power to prevent those who had thus received their Episcopal succession, from doing all they could to reform the abuses, which had gradually crept into that degenerate part of the Christian church.

This is all that can properly be meant by the term *reformation*, which does not lead to the idea of making a *new* church, a thing we can no more do than make a new bible, but only to that of correcting and amending the *old* one, and so replacing it in a state of conformity to the original standard. But the succession of pastors in the three sacred orders of bishops, presbyters and deacons, was none of the inventions of popery. It was the continuance of an apostolic institution, which had spread itself over the whole Christian world, even to this remote island of Britain, long before the corrupting influence of the church of Rome had obtained any footing in it.—When Augustin the Monk was sent over by Pope Gregory to convert the Saxon invaders, he found an Episcopal church in Britain, regularly constituted according to the primitive model. And when, many centuries after, the church of England came at last to engage in the happy work of reformation, which she did most seriously and successfully, she only returned to the exercise of her original rights, as an independent national church. It was on this footing that she threw off the yoke, under which she had so long bowed to the papal tyranny. But when she thus separated from the corruptions of Rome, she did not also throw off a just regard to the doctrines and institutions of the church of Christ.—Her reformed bishops saw the necessity of continuing that Episcopal ordination which they themselves had duly received: And Archbishop Parker having been regularly consecrated by four of these bishops, on the 17th of December, 1559, and placed by Queen Elizabeth in the see of Canterbury, the public registers will show not only the year, month and day when, but also the persons by whom, every particular bishop has been consecrated, from that period to the present time.

Such is the regular manner in which the Episcopal succession has been canonically carried on, and can be clearly traced, in the church of England: And it is also well known, that on two remarkable occasions, has that church

contributed her friendly aid to preserve the same succession in her sister-church of Scotland. After the reforming party in this country had gone on for a course of years, with much noise and tumult, establishing and altering their various plans of church government, King James, at last, having succeeded to the crown of England, was enabled to put matters on a more decent and regular footing. For that purpose, having desired three of those persons who had been nominated to bishopricks in Scotland, to repair to London, he told them at their first audience, "that he had with great charge recovered the temporalities of the church out of lay hands, and bestowed them, as he hoped, upon worthy persons; but as he could not make them bishops, nor could they assume that honour to themseleves, he had therefore called them to England, to receive regular consecration from the bishops there, that on their return home, they might communicate the same to the rest, and thereby stop the mouths of adversaries of all denominations."* These three persons were accordingly consecrated on the 21st of October, 1610, by the bishops of London, Ely and Bath; and on their return to Scotland, communicated the Episcopal powers which they had now received in a right and canonical manner, to their former titular brethren; by which means a regular Episcopacy was introduced into the reformed church of Scotland, and continued to enjoy the sanction of legal establishment, till the troubles broke out in the reign of Charles the First, when the church was again thrown into the utmost confusion, and a "*solemn league and covenant*" was entered into for effecting the entire extirpation of "prelacy, or the government of the church by archbishops and bishops, and all the ecclesiastical officers depending on that hierarchy."

Things continued in this disordered and ruinous state, till the restoration of Charles the Second; on which happy

* See Skinner's *Ecclesiastical History of Scotland,* vol. ii. p. 251.

event, the Church of England immediately revived, and showed herself worthy of the distinguished place she had always held among the reformed churches. Her established rank and splendour were restored to her. Nine of her bishops had survived the late calamities, of whom the worthy bishop of London, Dr. Juxon, who had attended his dying sovereign on the scaffold, was promoted to the see of Canterbury. The other eight took possession of their former bishopricks, and the rest of the sees that had been vacant, were soon filled with learned and able prelates. A similar resolution was adopted by government, with regard to Scotland; but before Episcopacy could be restored in this country, the necessity of the case required that application should again be made to the English church for assistance. The Scottish bishops, who had been driven into exile by the violence of the times, had all died, except one, without being able to provide for the Episcopal succession. It was therefore determined, by those who had the object at heart, that this necessary provision should be made, by having recourse to the same expedient which had been adopted about fifty years before; and, accordingly four of the persons who had been nominated for the Scottish Episcopate, were consecrated at London, on the 15th of December, 1661, by four of the English bishops.*

* In the year 1789, Bishop Abernethy Drummond, Bishop Strachan, and I, being at London, soliciting relief to our church from certain penal statutes; at the desire of Bishop Seabury, of Connecticut, who some years before had been consecrated by the bishops in Scotland, we applied to the archbishop of Canterbury for an attested extract of the consecration of the Scotch bishops in 1661, and through his Grace's condescending attention, received what follows—

"Extract from the Register-book of Archbishop Juxon, in the library of his Grace, the archbishop of Canterbury, at Lambeth palace"—Fol. 237.

"It appears—that James Sharpe was consecrated archbishop of St. Andrews, Andrew Fairfull archbishop of Glasgow, Robert Leighton bishop of Dunblenen, and James Hamilton bishop of Galloway, on the 15th day of December, 1661, in St. Peter's church, Westminster, by

But neither on this, nor on the former occasion, did any of the two archbishops officiate; lest their presiding at the consecration should have been considered as claiming from the church of Scotland, the acknowledgment of any subjection to the metropolitical sees of Canterbury or York. On returning to Scotland the four newly consecrated prelates took possession of the several sees to which they had been appointed, and the other ten bishopricks were afterwards conferred on the persons, who for that purpose had received consecration from their hands.

Thus was Episcopacy once more restored in Scotland, and continued to be the established form of church government, till the revolution took place in 1688, when the bishops unanimously refusing to comply with that change, and to renounce the allegiance which they had sworn to King James, were obliged to suffer the consequences of such refusal; and however imprudent their conduct may appear in a worldly view, it is evident, from the sacrifices which they made, that they acted with integrity, and from the most disinterested and conscientious motives. But whether it was owing to the offensive principles maintained by the bishops and their followers, or rather to that article in the *Claim of Right* set up by the *convention* of the estates of Scotland, which declared "*prelacy*, or any sort of Episcopal *superiority*, to be a great and insupportable grievance and trouble to this nation;"—whichever of these causes operated most powerfully in producing the designed effect, so it was, that the same convention, having been turned into a parliament, passed an act on the 22d of July, 1689, for "abolishing prelacy, and all superiority of any office in the church of this kingdom above presbyters."—In conse-

Gilbert, bishop of London, commissary to the archbishop of Canterbury, and that the Right Rev. George, bishop of Worcester, John, bishop of Carlisle, and Hugh, bishop of Landaff, were present and assisting.

"Extracted this 3d day of June, 1789, by me, William Dickes, Secretary."

quence of this abolition, which was followed, the year after, by the establishment of the presbyterian form of church government, the bishops were deprived of every thing connected with their office, which the civil power could take from them. They lost their revenues, and temporal jurisdiction; but their spiritual authority still remained, and that "gift of God," which they had received by the imposition of Episcopal hands, they considered themselves bound to exercise for promoting that Episcopal "work in the church of God, which had been committed to them." By virtue of this commission, they continued, in a quiet and peaceable manner, to discharge the duties of their spiritual function. They ordained ministers for such vacant congregations as adhered to their communion; and when they saw it necessary to attend to the preservation of their own order, they proceeded to the consecration of such persons as were thought most proper for being invested with that sacred and important trust.—We have also to observe, that all the ordinations and consecrations which have taken place in the Scotch Episcopal church, since the æra of the revolution, have been and still are invariably performed, as we have reason to believe they were from the Restoration to that period, according to the "form and manner of ordaining and consecrating" prescribed by the church of England. All this having been duly attended to, by the prelates who were ejected from their sees at the revolution, and by those whom they and their successors promoted to the order of bishops, it is evident that every thing has been done, which could be deemed necessary for preserving a regular Episcopal succession in Scotland; as may be seen from a list of the consecrations of Scotch bishops from the revolution to the present time, which is subjoined in an appendix to this work.*

It was, no doubt, from his knowledge of these matters,

* See Appendix, No. I.

and of the care which has been taken to support an Episcopal church in this part of the kingdom, though deprived of the aid of civil establishment, that Dr. Campbell was led to introduce one of his *Lectures* on Ecclesiastical History*, by observing, that he should not have thought it necessary "to be so particular as he had been, in ascertaining the nature of that polity which obtained in the primitive church, were not this a matter that is made a principal foundation of dissent by a pretty numerous sect in this country:" by which *sect*, it is plain that he means the Scotch Episcopal church, from what immediately follows.—"I do not," he says, "here allude to those amongst us, who barely prefer the Episcopal form of government, whom, in general, as far as I have had occasion to know them, I have found moderate and reasonable in their sentiments on this subject. Such do not pretend that the external model of the church (whatever they may think of the antiquity of theirs) is of the essence of religion."

If by thus making a distinction between the two Episcopal "*sects*" in this country, our Professor meant to pay a compliment to the one at the expense of the other, it does not appear that the peculiarity of sentiment, which he has held forth as the mark of distinction, was the most proper for answering his purpose. It is generally thought, that the "foundation of dissent" from that which, in any country, is by law established, ought to be laid in something that "is of the essence of religion," or at least supposed to be so by the dissenting party. And such is our opinion of the necessity of maintaining unity and concord among all "who profess and call themselves Christians," that we should hold ourselves highly culpable in keeping up a separate communion from that which has the law of our country on its side, were it not for the sake of things which we believe to be essential to our religion, and a part of that apostolic doc-

* See Lecture viii.

trine, to which, as Christians, we must steadfastly adhere. If there be any amongst us, as it seems Dr. Campbell had "occasion to know, who barely prefer the Episcopal form of government," on account perhaps of its antiquity, but without considering it as at all necessary to the being of a church; whatever may be said of such people's *moderation*, we see no ground for distinguishing them as "*reasonable* in their sentiments," if they had no better *reason* to justify their separation from the establishment of their country, and no other benefit from the Episcopal form of *government*, but what arises from the ministrations of clergy, who have been Episcopally ordained, but otherwise acknowledge no *such* government. The reflection, therefore, which, it would seem, Dr. Campbell was desirous to cast on one of the Episcopal "sects" in this country, will be found more applicable to the sentiments which he has ascribed to the other, and by marking which as "moderate and reasonable," he, no doubt, intended to keep up that unnecessary distinction between the Scotch and English Episcopacy, which has already subsisted too long, but ought to afford no more room for such disagreeable and unworthy comparisons.

All this, however, and more of the same kind, of which we have been obliged to take some notice, appears but as slight skirmishing, when compared to the grand battery, which was at last to be opened against the shattered but venerable remains of the old Episcopal church of Scotland. We had seen preparations making for this hostile attack, in the beginning of our Professor's *Eleventh Lecture*, where, after some general remarks to show, in his way, that the terms *ordination* and *appointment* to *a particular pastoral charge*, were at first perfectly synonymous, he adds, "If one, however, in those truly primitive times, (which but rarely happened), found it necessary to retire from the work, he never thought of retaining either the title or the emoluments.—To be made a bishop, and in being so, to receive no charge whatever, to have no work to execute,

could have been regarded no otherwise, than as a contradiction in terms. Indeed, the name of the office implied the service, without which it could not subsist, that is, without which there was no office. The name bishop means overseer, and this is a term manifestly correlative to that which expresses the thing to be overseen. The connection is equally necessary and essential as between father and child, sovereign and subject, husband and wife. The one is inconceivable without the other. Ye cannot make a man an overseer, to whom ye give no oversight, no more than ye can make a man a shepherd, to whom ye give the charge of no sheep, or a husband, to whom ye give no wife. Nay, in fact, as a man ceases to be a husband the moment he ceases to have a wife, and is no longer a shepherd than he has the care of sheep, so in the only proper and original import of the words, a bishop continues a bishop only whilst he continues to have people under his spiritual care."*

These are the general principles which our Lecturer laid down, as the ground of a long satyrical strain of declamation, for it can hardly be called reasoning, against the Episcopal succession in Scotland; that regular and orderly succession, for the validity of which we have appealed to undoubted vouchers, those ecclesiastical registers, which can at any time be shown for the satisfaction of all concerned. But before we come to consider the particular application, which our Professor has made of these his "self-evident propositions," to the case of what he calls—"the Scotch Episcopal party," let us inquire a little into the foundation of his supposed analogies, and see what would be the consequence of those ieferences, which he intended should be drawn from them. The most likely one of any to be admitted as a parallel case to the connection between a bishop and his spiritual charge, is that which

* Lecture xi.

subsists between "sovereign and subject," the connection in both cases arising from appointment to an office, although it must be owned, that the mode of appointment is very different, as well as the object about which each of these offices is exercised. Our Lecturer, however, was fond of this allusion—and asked—"For example, what would one think of the pretext of making a man a king, without giving him either subjects or a kingdom?"* We should certainly think the pretext very foolish, and the thing itself as unlikely to happen: Since these king-makers, a privilege which some people are always glad to keep in view, might themselves become the subjects, and their lands would of course be the kingdom.—But the Doctor adds—"Ye will say, may not the right to a kingdom be conferred on a man, whom we cannot put in possession?" This he readily admits, but insists that it "is not parallel to the case in hand." Yet why not parallel, when those who have a right to make a bishop, surely give him a right, when so made, to exercise his office in any part of the world, where he can do so, without encroaching on the charge or right of another bishop; and it will not be said that the right to a kingdom can be conferred but on similar terms. Possession may be obtained by force, but right is of a more delicate nature. During all the time of Cromwell's usurpation, Charles the Second was acknowledged as their rightful king, by all the loyal part of his subjects; and the length of his reign has been always computed from the day of his father's death, although it was eleven years before his restoration gave him the actual exercise of his kingly power. —So might a bishop be invested with Episcopal authority, although placed in a situation which would neither require nor admit the exercise of it.

The allusion which our Lecturer makes use of, to the connection between father and child, and between husband

* Lecture xi.

and wife, is by no means suited to the case in hand, as these are mere states or conditions of life, the nature of which is very different from that of an office, the former depending altogether on a particular relation, whereas the permanency of the latter will be often found to rest on a more general footing. Such is evidently the case with regard to the office of a shepherd, which, as applied to the Episcopal character, does not necessarily infer an immediate charge of a flock, since there may be other subjects of inspection that come not properly within the idea, which that term conveys. When, therefore, our Professor, wishing to ridicule the notion of a bishop *in partibus infidelium*, observed that "a bishop's charge being a church, and a church consisting only of believers, infidels are properly no part of his charge, no more than wolves or foxes are part of the flock of a shepherd," we are surprised that so complete an analogist did not recollect, that infidels may become believers, but wolves and foxes can never become sheep. Will any one say, that to make believers of infidels is no part of the office of a bishop, or that his office immediately ceases, when his labours in that way are no longer successful? If such were the precarious nature of the shepherd's office, it would hardly have been applied to point out the highest possible instance of pastoral care, and we should not have read of "sheep going astray, and afterwards *returning* to the Shepherd and bishop of their souls."

The only analogy, therefore, which seems at all applicable to the design in view, is that which our Professor makes use of, when he says—"Ye cannot make a man an overseer, to whom ye give no oversight;" and this is supposed to arise from the name *bishop* or *overseer*, as connected with, and requiring, things or persons to be overseen. He might, however, have remembered his own observation, that "the import of words gradually changes with the manners of the times;" as a proof of which, the word *presbyter* has certainly lost the import which he him-

self assigned to it, as a "title of respect," denoting a senator or elderly person, since it would now be thought ridiculous, instead of "ordaining or making a presbyter," to speak of "ordaining or making a respectable old man;" and may not the same change have happened in the application of the name *bishop* or *overseer*, even supposing its original import to have been "inspector of a particular flock?" Of this, however, the Professor brings no sort of proof, but runs on, in his usual declamatory style, expatiating on his favourite topic, that "a bishop continued a bishop only whilst he continued to have people under his pastoral charge, and where no such charge was given, ordination appeared but a mere illusion, the name without the thing. For nothing can be plainer," says he, "than that as yet," that is, in the fifth century, "they had no conception of the mystic character impressed by the bishop's hand in ordaining, which no power on earth can cancel."* A little after he tells us, that "the doctrine of the character had not yet been discovered;" and prosecuting still farther his strained analogy between marriage and ordination, he boldly asks—"What then is there in the one ceremony more nugatory than in the other? For if unmeaning words will satisfy, why may not the mystical, invisible, indelible character of husband be imprinted by the first, as that of priest or bishop is by the second? Holy writ gives just as much countenance to the one, as to the other."†

This, we think, is rather rashly affirmed; and the language made use of in delivering such a strange opinion, appears to us as void of delicacy, as inconsistent with the character, which ought to be maintained by every professor of Christian divinity. Is it really suitable to such a profession, even to suppose, much more to assert, that there is nothing given in and by apostolical, primitive, regular ordination, but such a bare "assignment to some particular

* Lecture xi. † Lecture xi.

congregation," as is perfectly similar to the connection between husband and wife? What then are we to understand by the *gift* (χαρισμα) which St. Paul twice mentions as *in* Timothy, and in both places ascribes it—to "the laying on of hands?" Does this point to any thing like his "assignment to a particular congregation," or to any sort of connection with a pastoral charge? Have we not more reason to believe, that this *charisma* or gift meant something, which, notwithstanding Dr. Campbell's sarcastic way of treating it, might be called a "character impressed" by imposition of hands, and which Timothy was "not to neglect, but to stir up" and put into exercise, so as to answer the good purpose for which he had received it? We know, that the *charismata*, or gifts so often mentioned as peculiar to the early ages of the gospel, have been generally thought to denote the miraculous powers with which many of the primitive Christians were endowed, even down to that period, when our adversaries are obliged to acknowledge that a true and proper Episcopacy universally prevailed. Yet as we are not told of any miraculous works performed by Timothy in consequence of the *gift* which was *in* him; and as it is expressly said to have been placed there by the imposition of hands, and that it might be stirred up in the work of the ministry, to which he had been appointed, we have every reason to conclude, that it referred entirely to his ordination, not as an "assignment to some particular congregation," but as giving him authority to execute his office in any congregation, or any part of the flock of Christ, which might be committed to his charge.

Such, we have ground to believe, was the apostolic practice, founded on the nature of the commission which the apostles themselves received from Christ, as extending to all nations, and all ages of the world. It was, therefore, a maxim universally received in the primitive church, that every bishop, as one of the successors of these apostles, had a pastoral relation to the whole catholic church, and

that the Episcopal body was thus widely diffused, for the mutual benefit of all its members, that if any one fell into heresy, others might be at hand to redress the mischief. Writing to the bishop of Rome on this very subject, Cyprian tells him—"Therefore is our body of bishops so large, and yet so joined together in the bond of unity, and cemented by mutual agreement, that if any one of our college should attempt to introduce heresy, and so tear in pieces and lay waste the flock of Christ, others should step in to its assistance, and like tender and useful shepherds, gather our Lord's sheep into his fold.—For though we are many shepherds, yet we have but one flock to feed, and all the sheep which Christ has purchased with his blood and passion, we ought to gather together and cherish."* From these words of Cyprian, and many other passages of his writings, it would appear, that he considered the college or corporation of bishops, as founded for the purpose of propagating the Christian faith throughout the world, and preserving it in its original purity. And though the division of the church into dioceses, and the placing local bishops over them, became necessary for the sake of order, and for preventing any improper interference with each others conduct; yet when the faith of the church was in danger of being lost, or corrupted by the prevalence of any pestilent heresy, every bishop was to consider himself as an universal pastor, and to do every thing in his power for preserving the soundness, and promoting the welfare of the whole body. Such being evidently the opinion entertained by Cyprian, of what he calls the "one Episcopate, of which every bishop

* "Idcirco copiosum est corpus sacerdotum, concordiæ mutuæ glutino atque unitatis vinculo copulatum, ut si quis ex collegio nostro hæresin facere, et gregem Christi lacerare et vastare tentaverit, subveniant cæteri, et quasi pastores utiles et misericordes oves Dominicas in gregem colligant. Nam etsi pastores multi sumus, unum tamen gregem pascimus, et oves universas, quas Christus sanguine suo et passione quæsivit, colligere et fovere debemus." Cypr. epist. 67. ad Steph.

holds a share for the benefit of the whole," we are indeed surprised to find Dr. Campbell quoting this very passage, in support of the opposite notion, which he so warmly espoused, that a bishop is to be considered as nothing more than the " pastor of a particular church or congregation," his " assignment" to which is all that is meant by ordination, and without which, it seems, he could have no share in the " one Episcopate," which yet St. Cyprian so zealously maintained to be held in common by the whole body of bishops, and therefore held by them, in virtue of their ordination or appointment to the Episcopal office, and not of their " assignment" to any particular charge.

It was proper that we should take notice of all this preparation which our Professor had made for effecting what seems to have been the principal purpose of the Lecture now before us, the bringing forward his heavy charge against the orders of the Scotch Episcopal church, which, after all that he had said by way of introduction to it, he still thought might probably excite some surprise, as well from the novelty of it, as by the confident and peremptory manner, in which he meant to support it. In both these respects, we do think it was sufficiently calculated to produce surprise in the minds of all who might esteem it worthy of their consideration, on account of the station and character of its author. Had the Principal of Marischal College boldly asserted, that a civil establishment being essential to the very being of Episcopal government, it is impossible that the order of bishops can be continued in a church which is not supported by the state: It would have been saying no more, than what had been said before by men equally high in office, and well versed in all sorts of knowledge, except that of the nature and constitution of the Christian church. Or had Dr. Campbell, who was early bred to the study of the law, given it as his opinion, that the act of parliament which abolished Episcopacy in Scotland, or some restricting statute afterward enacted, had

actually deprived the ejected bishops of their whole spiritual power, and left them no authority even to ordain priests and deacons, far less to consecrate bishops as their successors in these powers; this would have been only repeating the absurdities of those Erastian writers, who would make the civil power superior to apostolic institution, and allow an authority merely human, to annihilate the divine commission granted by him who has all power in heaven and in earth. In all this there would have been nothing new or surprising, however inconsistent with the character of a Christian divine; because such inconsistencies have often appeared, and been suffered to pass as liberal sentiments, flowing from a mind unfettered by any professional prejudice.

What method then has our Professor taken to support his strange attack on the depressed but pure and primitive Episcopacy, which still subsists in this part of the united kingdom? Does he pretend to say, that the bishops of Scotland, who were deprived of their legal power and privileges, in consequence of the Revolution in 1688, considered themselves as equally divested of all spiritual authority, and therefore took no measures for continuing a needless succession of bishops in a church so suddenly and completely cut off, as that of Scotland then was, from all its former connection with the state? No: even Dr. Campbell admits, that the ejected bishops, dispersed and persecuted as they were, continued their care of the Episcopal succession, and ordained several bishops, in order to preserve it.—But the misfortune, or rather the folly, as he thinks it, was—these new bishops "were ordained at large;" and because they had not been *previously* appointed each to a certain diocese, or had not received what he would call "assignment to a particular charge," he *maintains*, with dictatorial authority, that their ordinations were null and void, yea, no other than *farcical* ceremonies, in

which the actors played the fool, for the purpose of imposing on others.

When those, from whom the present clergy of the Scotch Episcopal church derive their orders, were known to be men of such unblemished integrity, and disinterested zeal, as to induce them to suffer the loss of all their worldly dignities and emoluments, for the sake of what they esteemed to be infinitely more valuable, truth and a good conscience, it is hard to hear them reviled as no better than formal hypocrites, striving to deceive others, and acting a most ridiculous farce in pretending to discharge one of the most solemn functions of their sacred office. It is no less surprising, that such a severe accusation should be published, as coming from a man, who, among his own friends, was much admired for his meekness and moderation, and what the world calls liberality of mind. Lest, therefore, we should be suspected of doing injustice to his character, a thing which it particularly becomes us to avoid, when he is no longer able to stand up in its defence, we shall give the indictment brought against those whom he calls "our Scotch Episcopal party," in their accuser's own words. After quoting some authorities, to show the abuse of those loose ordinations, chiefly of presbyters, which were beginning to take place in the fifth century, he proceeds thus*—

"One will perhaps be surprised to hear, that our Scotch Episcopal party, who have long affected to value themselves on the regular transmission of their orders, have none but what they derive from bishops merely nominal. I do not mention this with a view to derogate from their powers, but only as an argumentum *ad hominem*, to show how much their principles militate against themselves. It does not suit my notion of Christianity to retaliate on any sect, or to forbid any to cast out devils in the name of Christ, because they follow not us. If the lust of power had not

* Lecture xi.

with churchmen more influence than the spirit of the gospel, greater attention would have been given to the decision of their Master in a like case. Even their own writers acknowledge, that immediately after the death of Dr. Ross, bishop of Edinburgh, the last of those ordained before the Revolution, there were no local bishops in Scotland, not one appointed to any diocese, or having the inspection of any people, or spiritual jurisdiction over any district. But there were bishops who had been ordained at large, some by bishop Ross, others by some of the Scotch bishops, who, after the Revolution, had retired to England. The warmest partizans of that sect have not scrupled to own, that at that gentleman's decease, all the dioceses of Scotland were become vacant, and even to denominate those who had been ordained in the manner above mentioned, Utopian bishops, a title not differing materially from that I have given them, *merely nominal bishops*, for as far as I can learn, they were not titular even in the lowest sense. No axiom in philosophy is more indisputable than that *quod nullibi est non est*.—The ordination, therefore, of our present Scotch Episcopal clergy, is solely from presbyters; for it is allowed, that those men, who came under the hands of bishop Ross, had been regularly admitted ministers or presbyters, in particular congregations, before the Revolution. And to that first ordination, I maintain, that their farcical consecration by Doctor Ross and others, when they were solemnly made the depositaries of no deposit, commanded to be diligent in doing no work, vigilant in the oversight of no flock, assiduous in teaching and governing no people, and presiding in no church, added nothing at all."

Such is the ludicrous manner in which our Lecturer thought proper to represent a sacred and solemn office, performed by men of piety and worth, whatever may be thought of their worldly wisdom, and whose conduct in this affair ought not, we humbly think, to have been thus

held up as an object of ridicule, and so wantonly exposed to scorn and contempt. To add to the mockery too, he would not have it thought, that "it suited his notion of Christianity to retaliate on any sect, or to forbid any to cast out devils in the name of Christ, because they followed not his party." He had before been quoting the passage of scripture, which mentioned the occurrence that occasioned this remark, and had made the following observation upon it. "The apostles still retained too much of the Jewish spirit, not to consider more the party than the cause. 'He followeth not us;' a reason which to this day, alas! would be thought the best reason in the world by most Christian sects, and by every individual who possesses the spirit of the sectary."* And is all this particularly levelled at the "Scotch Episcopal party," as if they were peculiarly possessed of this sectarian spirit? Let a miracle, such as casting out devils in the name of Christ, be wrought as really and visibly as in the instance referred to, (for the apostles acknowledged that they *saw* it) and we can safely affirm that not an individual of our sect would dare to forbid such a thing, any more than Dr. Campbell himself would have done. But he certainly knew that there might be *pretenders* to this miraculous power, who might use the name of Christ, without any "pious intention to promote his cause," of which we have a striking instance in the case of those "vagabond Jews, exorcists, who took upon them to call over them which had evil spirits, the name of the Lord Jesus," and were justly punished for their impious presumption.†

With an appearance, however, of candour and moderation, our Professor told his pupils, that what he had mentioned, or was going to mention, respecting the "Scotch Episcopal party," was "with no view to derogate from their powers:" to which we shall only beg leave to apply his own

* Lecture iv. † Acts xix. 13—17.

remark on the conduct of David Hume in a similar case—"Was ever so rough an assault preceded by so smooth a preamble?"* For in what way could he have more effectually "derogated from their powers," than by representing what he thought the source of these powers, as no better than a *farcical* ceremony, which "added nothing to the first ordination" of those on whom it was performed, and "from whom was particularly withheld the right of transmitting orders to others?" If this be the "*argumentum ad hominem*" made use of "to show, how much the principles of the Scotch Episcopalians militate against themselves," the application of the argument ought to have been properly pointed out, and these hostile principles particularly specified: And as this has not been done, it may be presumed, that the learned Professor knew as little of the principles of these Episcopalians, as they perhaps know of his "notion of Christianity," and the propriety of the method which he has here taken to support it.

In this state of uncertainty, with regard to the application and strength of his reasoning, we are led by some circumstances to conjecture, that the argument alluded to, as so happily brought *home* to the "Scotch Episcopal party," may probably be drawn from the canon of an ancient council, which he has quoted and commented on, as particularly applicable to the case in hand, and to the sentiments of a "party," who are supposed to hold in peculiar reverence every thing that is truly primitive in ecclesiastical administration. The canon referred to, is the 6th of the general council of Chalcedon, in which he says, "all such loose ordinations, of bishops at large without a diocese, are declared, I say not irregular or uncanonical, but absolutely null:" And to give the more weight to this canon, he adds the decision of Leo, a contemporary pope, or bishop of Rome, who, he says, "on account of his writings, is

* Dissertation on Miracles, p. 243.

considered as a doctor of the church, and affirms positively in one of his letters, that the ordination is to be counted vain, or of no effect, which is neither founded in place, nor fortified by authority." The first of these clauses our Doctor explains so as to make it suit his own purpose, but takes no farther notice of the second, which requires authority in the ordainer, to give validity to the ordination, in whatever place the person ordained may be called to exercise his ministry.

In his next lecture we find our Professor endeavouring to procure still farther sanction to the authority of the council of Chalcedon, by putting us in mind of the opinion of Pope Gregory the Great, who is said to have held the four first general councils in equal veneration with the four gospels. And how comes all this to afford any peculiar force of argument against the Scotch Episcopal church, which, if it esteems these two bishops of Rome, the first and best of their names, as doctors of the church, and holds in all due veneration the four first general councils, is yet entirely of the opinion of the church of England, as expressed in her 21st article, that "general councils may err, and sometimes have erred, even in things pertaining unto God?" With respect, however, to the present point in question, we do not see that it is at all concerned with the regard which is due to the authority of general councils, and which must always be regulated by the consideration of the particular objects which their several canons had in view, according to the circumstances of the church at the different periods when these ecclesiastical synods were held. The council of Chalcedon was called for the express purpose of repressing the Eutychian heresy; and its sixth canon has been generally thought to point at the danger of increasing that heresy, by such irregular ordinations as might tend to give it additional support, and were therefore prohibited; which prohibition was enforced by an imperial edict, evidently founded on the same reason, and published for the same

purpose. Dr. Campbell has omitted to quote the introductory part of the canon, in which the prohibition is particularly levelled at "the loose ordination of *presbyters* and *deacons*," as most likely to continue the mischief which had arisen from the heresy that was now condemned: and he has also kept out of sight the conclusion of the canon which seems to prohibit the persons so ordained from performing the functions of their ministry, lest they should do it to the reproach or injury of the person who had ordained them.*

We could produce many respectable authorities in confirmation of the opinion which has now been given of the meaning and design of this Chalcedonian canon. The author of that celebrated work called "*Ecclesiastical Polity*," and who is generally distinguished by the title of the "judicious Hooker," argues very strongly against the error of those, who, "because the names of all church-officers are words of relation; because a shepherd must have his flock, a teacher his scholars, a minister his company which he

* The whole canon runs thus in the original. Μηδενα δε απολελυμενως χειροτονεισθαι, μητε ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΝ, μητε ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΝ, μητε ὁλως τινα των εν εκκλησιαστικω ταγματι, ει μη ἰδικῶς εν εκκλησια πολεως ἡ κωμης, ἡ μαρτυριω, ἡ μοναστηριω ὁ χειροτονεμενος επικηρυττοιτο. Τους δε απολυτως χειροτονεμενους ὡρισεν ἡ ἁγια συνοδος ακυρον εχειν την τοιαυτην χειροθεσιαν, και μηδαμως δυνασθαι ενεργειν ΕΦ ΥΒΡΕΙ ΤΟΥ ΧΕΙΡΟΤΟΝΗΣΑΝΤΟΣ. It is thus translated by a German writer, of Lutheran principles.—"Neminem absolute ordinari presbyterum vel diaconum, vel quemlibet in ecclesiastica ordinatione constitutum, nisi manifeste in ecclesia civitatis, sive possessionis, aut in martyrio, aut in monasterio, qui ordinatur, mereatur ordinationis publicatæ vocabulum. Eorum vero qui absolute ordinantur, decrevit sancta synodus vacuam haberi manus impositionem, et nullum ejus tale factum valere, ad injuriam ipsius qui eum ordinavit." To which he adds this remark, "Recte prohibet hic canon, ne quis, nisi in publico loco (qualia erant templa, oratoria, et ædificia martyribus consecrata) ad ministerium ecclesiasticum ordinetur. Et apud nos hodie in ducatu Wurtenbergico, ordinationes fiunt in cætu ecclesiæ." Vide Epitome Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ. A Lucas Osiander, D. D. 4to. Tubingæ, 1597, p. 356.

ministereth unto; therefore suppose that no man should be ordained a minister but for some particular congregation, and unless he be tied to some certain parish. Perceive they not," says he, "how by this means they make it unlawful for the church to employ men at all in converting nations? For if so be the church may not lawfully admit to an ecclesiastical function, unless it tie the party admitted unto some particular parish, then surely a thankless labour it is, whereby men seek the conversion of infidels, who know not Christ, and therefore cannot be as yet divided into their special congregations and flocks." For the avoiding, therefore, of all confusion in treating of this matter, he thinks there is nothing more material, than first—to separate "exactly the nature of the ministry from the use and exercise thereof. Secondly, to know that the only true and proper act of ordination is to invest men with that power, which doth make them ministers, by consecrating their persons to God and his service, in holy things, during the term of life, whether they exercise that power or no. Thirdly, that to give them a title or charge where to use their ministry, concerneth not the making, but the placing of God's ministers; therefore the laws, which concern only their election or admission to that place or charge, are not applicable to infringe, in any way, their ordination. And, fourthly, that as oft as any ancient constitution, law, or canon is alleged concerning either ordinations or elections, we forget not to examine, whether the present case be the same which the ancient was, or else do contain some just reason, for which it cannot admit altogether the same rules, which former affairs of the church, now altered, did then require."

Having laid down these premises, and shown the necessity of attending properly to them, in all questions relating to the ordination and appointment of the Christian ministry, this learned writer draws such a conclusion from them, as affords a sufficient defence of the Scotch Episcopal ordinations against any misapplication of that canon of the

council of Chalcedon, which is now under our consideration: "Absolutely therefore," says he, "it is not true, that any ancient canon of the church, which is, or ought to be with us in force, doth make ordinations at large unlawful; and as the state of the church doth stand, they are most necessary. If there be any conscience in men, touching that which they write or speak, let them consider as well what the present condition of all things doth now suffer, as what the ordinances of former ages did appoint; as well the weight of those causes, for which our affairs have altered, as the reasons, in regard whereof, our fathers and predecessors did sometime strictly and severely keep that which for us to observe now, is neither meet, nor always possible."*

To the same purpose, we find another no less venerable author, the pious Bishop Jeremy Taylor, when mentioning this very decree of the council of Chalcedon, making a distinction between those ordinations which, for particular reasons of prudence or expediency, were declared to be uncanonical and irregular, and those which were always held to be null and void in their own nature.† Of the latter kind was every ordination, which was not sanctioned by proper Episcopal authority in the ordainer; whereas the former were prohibited merely for the sake of order and regularity, after it was found expedient to allot a certain portion of the church to the inspection of every particular bishop, assisted in certain parts of his pastoral office by the subordinate clergy of his own district. But this restriction to a peculiar charge was not founded in any thing essential to the nature of the Christian priesthood: It arose entirely from local circumstances, and was marked by such limits of convenience as were produced by a variety of causes operating differently in different countries, but all uniting in the pre-

* See *Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity*, book v. p. 330, 332, 333.

† See Bishop Taylor's *Episcopacy Asserted*, sect. xxxii.

servation of what St. Cyprian called the "one Episcopate" of divine appointment, parcelled out by ecclesiastical authority and consent, into such parts and portions as might be severally held by their respective bishops, for conjunctly promoting the common cause of their great Lord and Master, the Shepherd and Bishop of souls.

"Here, then," as Dr. Potter,* another eminent divine, expresses himself on this subject, "we must carefully distinguish between the ordination of ministers, and their designation to particular districts. For these are things wholly different, though they often went together; it being manifest, that one may be a bishop, or priest, where he has no authority to exercise his office; which is the case not only of those who are ordained to convert heathens, without any title to a particular church; but all others who travel beyond the limits of their own district: For a priest who comes into a foreign country, where other lawful ministers are settled, still retains his sacerdotal character, and yet has no authority to take upon him the ordinary exercise of his office there."

All this, indeed, is in perfect conformity to that part of the established doctrine of the church of England which is laid down in her ordination offices, as fully expressive of her sentiments on the point now before us. Thus in the "ordering of priests," the candidate "receives the Holy Ghost, for the office and work of a priest in the church of God, committed unto him by the imposition of hands;" and on receiving the bible from the bishop, he gets "authority to preach the word of God, and to minister the holy sacraments in the congregation, where he *shall be* lawfully appointed thereunto." So likewise in the "consecration of bishops," when the presiding bishop has said—"Receive the Holy Ghost, for the office and work of a bishop in the church of God, *now* committed unto thee,

* See his *Discourse on Church Government*, p. 452.

by the imposition of our hands, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, Amen;"—He immediately adds—" And remember that thou stir up the grace of God, which is given thee, by this imposition of our hands;" where the admonition plainly alludes to the χαρισμα *(charisma)* the gift or grace, which was given to Timothy by the same means, and points out both the nature and design of it. But not a word is said in all this solemn act of immediate " ordination, by laying on of hands," that has the least appearance of connecting it with, or making it depend upon, what Dr. Campbell insists, is absolutely essential, " the solemn assignment of the persons ordained, to a particular charge." Yet this " form of consecrating bishops, which is according to the order of the church of England," is the very form by which those bishops were consecrated, from whom the present Scotch Episcopal clergy derive their orders, and who, in Dr. Campbell's estimation, " surprising" as the discovery may seem, were no other than " *bishops merely nominal*," that is, assuming the name, but possessing none of the power or authority peculiar to bishops.

Let us, then, examine a little more particularly how this matter stands, and consider the peculiar situation of the bishops who were ejected at the revolution, and of those who were their immediate successors in the Episcopal office, together with the motives which influenced their conduct in providing for that succession: From all this it will appear what a strange misrepresentation Dr. Campbell has given of the whole affair, as unworthy of his character, as it is unjust to those whom he has thus endeavoured, but, we hope, vainly endeavoured, to expose in the most ridiculous and contemptible light. That the prelates of Scotland, before their *legal* ejection took place in consequence of the revolution, were *true* and *lawful bishops*, in every sense which these terms can bear, he has not attempted to deny; nor indeed has he deigned to take the least notice

of the cause or manner of their ejection, whence it proceeded, or how it was conducted. The fact, however, is certain; and the only point in question is, what these bishops became, after they were thus legally deprived of their sees, their revenues, and all kind of temporal jurisdiction. We have already seen our Lecturer laying it down, as "a thing so plain, that one is almost ashamed to attempt to illustrate it, that as in fact a man ceases to be a husband the moment that he ceases to have a wife, and is no longer a shepherd than he has the care of sheep, so, in the only proper and original import of the words, a bishop continues a bishop only whilst he continues to have people under his spiritual care." Plain, however, as all this appears, we are at some loss to know what is here meant by a "bishop's having people *under his spiritual care:*" Not that there is any ambiguity in the words themselves, but because we often find Dr. Campbell putting a very different sense on the powers and *cares* of bishops, from that, in which we think the church has always understood them. Yet we may surely take it for granted, from his own concession, that the ejected Scotch bishops *once* had people under their spiritual care; and this being acknowledged, we may also take the liberty of asking two simple questions, on which may be said to turn the main hinge of the argument between Dr. Campbell and us. One of these questions is—By what means were those bishops invested with this spiritual care; or from what source did they derive their right to it? Our Professor could not say, what no true presbyterian, indeed no true Christian, will say, that they derived it from the state, which never pretended either to exercise or claim any power of "ministering either of God's word or sacraments," or of conveying any thing whatever, which may truly be called *spiritual.* And if the case be really so, the next question is—Did the ejection of these bishops by the civil power deprive them of any purely *spiritual* right, which they had possessed before,

and had been put in possession of, by ecclesiastical power only? This question, we hope, will also be answered in the negative: or had there been any doubt about it in the minds of Dr. Campbell's pupils, they might have been referred for a solution of it to a divine of the church of England, the learned Dr. Prideaux, author of the "*Connection of the Old and New Testament*," which their Professor, in his first lecture, had called an "excellent work, and earnestly recommended to their perusal;" and in which they would have found the following account of the Christian priesthood, as, in this respect, similar to the Jewish:

"For to instance in Episcopacy, the first order of it, besides the ecclesiastical office, which is derived from Christ alone, it hath in Christian states annexed to it (as with us) the temporal benefice (that is, the revenues of the bishoprick) and some branches of the temporal authority, as the probate of wills, causes of tithes, causes of defamation, &c. All which latter most certainly is held under the temporal state, but not the former.—Were this distinction duly considered, it would put an end to those Erastian notions which now so much prevail among us. For the want of this is the true cause, that many observing some branches of the Episcopal authority to be from the state, wrongfully from hence infer, that the rest is so too; whereas, would they duly examine the matter, they would find, that besides the temporal power and temporal revenues, with which bishops are invested, there is also an ecclesiastical or spiritual power, which is derived from none other than *Christ alone*. And the same distinction may also serve to quash another controversy, which was much agitated among us, in the reign of his late Majesty, King William the third, about the act which deprived the bishops, who would not take the oaths to that king. For the contest then was, that an act of Parliament could not deprive a bishop. This we acknowledge to be true in respect of the spiritual office, but not in respect of the benefice, and other temporal advantages and

powers annexed thereto. For these every bishop receiveth from the state, and the state can again deprive any bishop of them on a just cause. And this was all that was done by the said act. For the bishops that were then deprived by it, had still their Episcopal office left entire to them; they being as much bishops of the church universal after their deprivation, as they were before."*

Such is the clear and distinct account which Dr. Prideaux gives of this matter; and it should be remembered, that the case to which he alludes, of the deprived bishops in England, was of a much more perplexed and intricate nature, than that of their brethren in Scotland; the former leading to an unhappy separation of one part of an Episcopal church from another, whilst the latter was an overturning of the whole established Episcopacy at once, and obliged the Scotch Episcopalians of that day to defend their cause, as it has been defended ever since, on those general principles, by which their ecclesiastic polity was supported in the first and purest ages of Christianity. This was the apology made for us in the year 1792, when that distinguished prelate, Dr. Horsely, then bishop of St. David's, now of St. Asaph, stood up to plead our cause in the great council of the nation, with a strength of argument, and dignity of mind, which did him equal honour as a bishop of the church, and a peer of the realm. "These Episcopalians," said his Lordship, "take a distinction, and it is a just distinction, between a purely spiritual, and a political Episcopacy. A political Episcopacy belongs to an established church, and has no existence out of an establishment. This sort of Episcopacy was necessarily unknown in the world before the time of Constantine. But in all the preceding ages, there was a pure spiritual Episcopacy, an order of men set apart to inspect and manage the spiritual affairs of the church, as a society in itself totally un-

* *Connection of the Old and New Testament*, part ii. book 3, p. 161.

connected with civil government. Now, these Scotch Episcopalians think, that when their church was cast off by the state at the revolution, their church, in this discarded, divided state, reverted to that which had been the condition of every church in Christendom, before the establishment of Christianity in the Roman empire by Constantine the Great; that losing all their political capacity, they retained, however, the authority of the pure spiritual Episcopacy within the church itself.—That is the sort of Episcopacy to which they now pretend, and I, as a churchman, have some respect for that pretension."*

On these principles, therefore, founded in the very nature and constitution of the Christian church, we may safely say, that the bishops of Scotland, ejected at the revolution, continued to be as much bishops, in the pure ecclesiastical sense of the word, after, as they had been before their ejection; and were so, even on Dr. Campbell's restricting plan, when supported by all his allusions to father and husband, sovereign and shepherd; since it is a certain fact, that, notwithstanding the parliamentary abolition of prelacy, great numbers, both of clergy and laity, or, as the Doctor would rather have called them, presbyters and people, adhered to the deprived bishops, and acknowledged themselves to be still "under their spiritual care." And was this "spiritual care" of the Scotch church to cease entirely at the death of these bishops? Or, because our Professor will not allow that the apostles could have successors, on account of the extraordinary powers with which these apostles were invested, was there any thing so peculiar in the character of bishops, precisely such as we have shown the bishops of the three first centuries to have been, that they could not have others to succeed them in their spiritual charge, or use the same

* See a *Narrative of the Proceedings* relating to an act which was passed in 1792, for granting relief to pastors, ministers, and lay persons of the Episcopal communion in Scotland. Printed at Aberdeen, 1792.

means for preserving that succession, as had been used for the same purpose in every age and under every state or condition of the Christian church?

But, says our Lecturer, "even their own writers acknowledge, that immediately after the death of Dr. Ross, bishop of Edinburgh, the last of these ordained before the revolution, there were no local bishops in Scotland, not one appointed to any diocese, or having the inspection of any people, or spiritual jurisdiction over any district." And supposing this to have been the case, we shall be able to show how easily it may be accounted for, and what regular steps were taken for having again local bishops, appointed to their several dioceses or districts, as soon as circumstances would permit.—Even our adversary acknowledges, that at the period he mentions, "there were bishops in Scotland, who had been ordained at large, some by Bishop Ross, others by some of the Scotch bishops, who, after the revolution, had retired to England."* And from what has been already said on the nature of ordination and Episcopal consecration, it is evident, that these were real, duly consecrated bishops, possessed of the power of consecrating others, and of taking the charge of any diocese or district that might be committed to their inspection.

It is allowed, even by Dr. Campbell, "that those men who came under the hands of bishop Ross, had been regularly admitted ministers or presbyters in particular congregations before the revolution;" and it is equally certain, that they had flocks, perhaps but "little flocks," yet not

* This seems to bo very inaccurately stated, as none of the ejected bishops performed any consecration in England, and only one Scotch bishop was consecrated there, as may be seen in the Appendix No. I. from which it will also appear, that though Dr. Campbell speaks only of the bishop of Edinburgh as the ordainer, yet the first consecration in Scotland after the revolution, was performed by the archbishop of Glasgow, and bishop of Dunblane, in conjunction with the bishop of Edinburgh; and every consecration since has been performed by the canonical number of bishops.

despicable on that account, which still continued under their spiritual care, and according to our Professor's description of the primitive practice, "could assemble with their several pastors in one house, for the purpose of public worship:" And if it were true, as he says, that for many years after the introduction of Episcopacy into the church, a bishop's pastoral charge did not extend beyond a single congregation, then would it necessarily follow on his principles, that these Scotch pastors, when promoted to the Episcopal order by a solemn and regular consecration, became not only primitive bishops, but, in his opinion, perhaps the only primitive bishops, who were then to be found in Britain, or any other country. They were certainly "parochial bishops," even in Dr. Campbell's view of their character; and we know not what good reason he could have assigned, why their parochial charge, however small, might not have been called their diocese, or might not have swelled to such an extent, by the addition of neighbouring congregations, as to become a diocese, even in the modern sense of the word. It is of no consequence, that an unprecedented scheme was afterwards set on foot, for committing the whole government of the Scotch Episcopal church to a college of bishops, who were to act in common, without any of them being appointed to the charge of a particular district: And it is now as little worthy of notice, that in opposition to such a fanciful system of ecclesiastic polity, the defenders of diocesan Episcopacy thought proper to distinguish the members of this college by the title of "Utopian bishops." All that we have occasion to observe respecting a controversy, which was soon brought to an end, is merely this, and it must have been well known to Dr. Campbell, that none of the writers from whom he borrowed the denomination, which he has so derisively applied, ever expressed the least doubt of the college bishops, as they were called, having been duly and regularly consecrated, and thereby invested with full powers for conveying to others

the same gift or grace which themselves had received by imposition of hands, for the purpose of preserving, through that dangerous and distressful period, a regular Episcopal succession in the church to which they belonged.

This indeed appears to have been the principal design of all the consecrations which took place in Scotland from the revolution, in 1688, to the death of the last survivor of the ejected bishops, which happened in 1720. It was not till the number of these prelates was reduced to five, and some of these also advanced in years, that they saw the necessity of making some provision for continuing the Episcopal succession, and thereby preserving their national church from being again obliged, as she had been within their own memory, to have recourse to another quarter for a regular and valid Episcopacy.—Something of this kind is always alluded to, in the deeds or instruments of their consecration, signed and sealed in the usual manner:* And after the first consecration was performed by the archbishop of Glasgow, and other two of the deprived prelates, we find on every subsequent solemnity of the same kind, some of the new bishops assisting the old, as long as any of them remained, and afterwards acting in their own names, and by their own powers, as prudence or necessity dictated. At the same time, many considerations might present themselves to show the propriety of what was proposed, and cordially agreed to on both sides; that during the life of any of the old bishops, the government of the church should remain entirely in their hands, whilst those whom they had consecrated should, all that time, be vested with no diocesan power, nor have the inspection of any particular district, but merely assist the others in keeping up the Episcopal order, and managing matters for the general good of the church.

Such was the plan of procedure suggested by the ne-

* See copies of them in the Appendix, No. II.

cessity of the times, and recommended, no doubt, by various circumstances, as most likely to answer the purpose for which it was adopted.—And however unsuitable and improper it may now appear to us, before we can form any just or candid judgment of the motives which gave rise to it, we shall find it necessary to look back a little to the state of things at that period, and consider what might be the sentiments and feelings of the bishops and clergy of the lately established church, whom the revolution had deprived of their livings and many valuable privileges, had reduced to the most abject poverty and pitiable distress, and thereby thrown into a state of dependence on the hopes of that family, for the support of whose interests they had suffered this deprivation, and all these accumulated hardships. It is painful, even at this distance of time, to reflect on the violent and barbarous manner, in which these unhappy sufferers were driven from their former possessions. The remembrance of such strange and unexpected severity was not likely to be soon effaced, and some of the political measures of those times were but ill adapted to conciliate the minds of persons, who had so much cause, as they thought, for being disaffected to the established government. Hence it was that the shattered remains of the old national church came to be considered as a society kept together for no other purpose than to serve the interests, and support the pretensions of the exiled family. On some of the principal friends of that family, many of the persecuted clergy had been obliged to depend for protection and support, and, in consequence of that dependence, had been much influenced by the wishes and opinions of their patrons. It may also be supposed, that some of them would retain as much of the prevailing opinion, respecting the necessary connection between the mitre and the crown, as might lead them to suppose, that the church could not possibly subsist, without admitting the same interposition of regal authority in the nomination of its bishops, to which

they had been accustomed in the times of constitutional and legal Episcopacy.

Viewing things in this light, and encourged, perhaps obliged to take such measures as were most agreeable to those persons of rank and influence on whom they depended, a part, though but an inconsiderable part of the Scotch Episcopal clergy, contrived a new scheme for managing the government of their church, till it should be seen whether there was any probability, as they, perhaps, might be led to hope, from their remembrance of what had formerly happened, of recovering her ancient privileges. The plan proposed, of which we have already taken some notice, was shortly this ;—that after the death of the bishop of Edinburgh (who, as we have seen, survived the other ejected prelates till the year 1720) all the bishops who had been consecrated since the revolution, and were then alive, should be formed into an Episcopal college, for the general purpose of preserving a succession of bishops, and ordaining inferior clergy, but without pretending to local jurisdiction, or the charge of any particular district, which, as they could not obtain with the formal sanction of government, they thought it better to decline, out of respect to the suffering situation of the person, whom they acknowledged as their king. The scheme accordingly was no sooner proposed, than it received his approbation, and on this plan a few promotions soon after took place, in consequence of recommendations from the exiled prince. But notwithstanding this shadow of support to the collegiate scheme of church government, and however proper or respectful to the unfortunate house of Stuart, it might have appeared in the eyes of a few individuals, it was far from being acceptable to the clergy in general, or giving any satisfaction to the great body of the laity who adhered to the communion of the Scotch Episcopal church. They longed for the revival of diocesan Episcopacy, as that form of church government, to which they had always been accus-

tomed, and which they knew to be most conformable to the primitive model. They saw no necessity for confounding the things of God with the things of Cæsar; and since it was an undoubted fact, that the adventitious privileges granted by the state, had laid the foundation of the grateful concessions made by the Christian church, they considered that part of it, to which they belonged, being now destitute of all secular support or encouragement from the state, as at full liberty to betake itself to its own intrinsic powers, and make what provision was necessary for the succession and continuance of its sacred orders. There could be no occasion for asking a licence from the crown for the election of bishops, who were not to be distinguished by any mark of the royal favour, nor to enjoy any peculiar benefit for the support of their profession. They might surely be promoted now, as they had been of old, before Christianity became a religion established by law: And where no interposition of royal authority, no interference of the state was to be expected, as the church was left at liberty to exercise those powers communicated by her divine founder for preserving her in existence; so, whilst this was done in a quiet and becoming manner, there was no reason to fear that government would be offended.

These were the principles on which the constitution of our church was settled, as soon as it recovered from the shock, which was necessarily occasioned by the violent and abrupt termination of its connection with the state. And if some of our writers, whom Dr. Campbell calls the "warmest partizans of our sect, have not scrupled to own, that at the death of the bishop of Edinburgh in 1720, all the dioceses in Scotland were become vacant,"—yet it can never be supposed, that these writers believed the whole Episcopal church in Scotland to have become so far vacant likewise, as to have no bishops in it capable of being elected to take the charge of its several districts, or of consecrating others, that might be elected for that purpose.—This

was a sort of vacancy, which none of our writers ever did, or could acknowledge; because they all knew well, that when that event happened, which occasioned this "diocesan vacancy," there were no fewer than six of those bishops alive, who had been consecrated since the revolution, and whom they always owned to be real *bishops*, in the true and primitive sense of the word. And they knew likewise, that in less than two months after the death of the bishop of Edinburgh, the presbyters of that diocese, which had once been legally and constitutionally under his inspection, unanimously elected one of the above-mentioned six bishops to be their diocesan; and not long after, the presbyters of Angus elected another of them, and those of Aberdeen a third,* for the same Episcopal charge of these several districts. It can hardly be supposed, that all these presbyters, who had been bred for the ministry, and regularly ordained in an Episcopal church, would be so unacquainted with ecclesiastical history, and the canons of ancient councils, as to make choice of persons for their bishops, who by being ordained at large, might have assumed the name, but had no just right to the character of bishops, and to whose first ordination as presbyters, "their farcical consecration," as Dr. Campbell thought proper to call it, "by Doctor Ross and others, added nothing at all." Is it to be imagined, that so many respectable and experienced clergymen would have joined in countenancing and abetting such a ridiculous, we may say even impious farce; or have suffered the government of their church, and the management of its affairs, to fall into the hands of persons who had obtained their promotion by such irregular and unjustifiable means? Yet no remonstrance appeared against it; nothing indeed was seen but a general approbation of the measure which had thus restored the true diocesan Epis-

* See Skinner's *Ecclesiastical History of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 628, 629, 630.

copacy; and a few years after, the whole Episcopal church in Scotland was settled on the same right and orderly plan, and certain regulations adopted, which have continued to be the standard of its discipline to this day.*

We have been obliged to be thus particular in our detail of facts, as the best way of repelling that strange, unexpected attack, which has lately been made on the validity of our Episcopal orders, and which, we have seen, has nothing to support it, but the novelty of the arguments by which it is maintained, and the peremptory manner in which they are brought forward. If the refutation of them required any addition to that clear, satisfactory evidence, which has been already produced, we might easily find it in the writings of some of the most learned and distinguished divines of the Church of England, who have afforded most abundant testimony in favour of such a sound and primitive Episcopacy, as that which still subsists in Scotland. And when this point came to be debated in the upper house of Parliament, and a discussion took place on the nature of our Episcopal succession as far back as the year 1748, the whole English bench unanimously opposed the passing of an act, which seemed to infringe the validity of our orders; and some of them argued against it in the strongest terms, particularly the learned and pious Dr. Secker, then bishop of Oxford, and afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, who, in his speech on that occasion, observed, that "to preserve the Episcopal church of Scotland, the bishops, who were outed of their temporalities at the

* Agreeably to these regulations, every bishop is elected by the whole body of clergy, within the diocese or district over which he is to preside, and they meet for such election, in virtue of a mandate signed by at least a majority of the bishops. When the election is over, the issue of it is reported by the dean of the diocese to the *primus*, or senior bishop, who communicates it to his colleagues, and they jointly appoint a day and place for the consecration of the person elected, which is always performed by three bishops at least, in a public chapel, and according to the ordinal of the church of England.

revolution, not only conferred orders, but consecrated bishops in the room of those that died; for surely," said he, "the Episcopal party in Scotland have as much a right and a power to both the one and the other, as the primitive Christians had, before their religion came to be the established religion in any country, and if they would profess and practise the same submission to the civil government, I should think them equally entitled to protection and indulgence."*

Another more recent occurrence was the means of procuring a similar acknowledgment in favour of our Episcopacy from that branch of the church of England which was long cherished in the British plantations of North-America, but could never obtain, till it was torn from the parent flock, that which would have given it additional life and vigour, a regular and resident Episcopate. In an excellent discourse on this subject, preached in Virginia, in the year 1771, the author makes this introductory remark,— "It was (I believe) about the middle of the last century, that our want of bishops was sensibly felt and lamented, and that applications for remedying the evil were made to the throne. These applications were thought so reasonable, that under Charles the second, a patent was actually made out for appointing a bishop of Virginia. By some fatality or other (such as seems for ever to have pursued all the good measures of the monarchs of that unfortunate family) the patent was not signed when the king died; and from that time to this, all exertions for the attainment of this desirable object, though they have never wholly ceased, have been as languid, as the opposition to them has been vehement. Never before in any period of our history, or in any part of the empire, was a measure so harmless, so necessary, and so salutary, resisted and defeated on grounds so frivolous, so unwise, and so unjust." Our author then

* See the Scots *Magazine* for 1748, p. 589, 590.

proceeds to mention, and answer very fully all the objections, which had been made to this wise and salutary measure; and in an appendix which he subjoined to this discourse, when it was published with some others in the year 1797, he concludes with these very just and pertinent observations—

"That the American opposition to Episcopacy was at all connected with that still more serious one, so soon afterwards set up against civil government, was not indeed generally apparent at the time, but it is now indisputable, as it also is, that the former contributed not a little to render the latter successful. The Anti-Episcopalians carried their point with an high hand, which is no otherwise to be accounted for, than that the party, in perfect union with their fellow labourers in the British parliament, were in the habit of opposing every measure that seemed likely to strengthen the hands of government. That the object, which in this instance was opposed, was either in itself really dangerous, or intended to be so, will not now be pretended by any one: For hardly was the independence of the colonies gained, before an Episcopate was applied for and obtained;"* an Episcopate, in every respect similar to that which had often and earnestly been requested by the English clergy in America; that is, bishops duly authorized to perform the original duties of their office, to ordain and govern the clergy, and administer the sacred rite of confirmation, but without any temporal power or preferment, and possessed of no other authority than that

* See "*A View of the Causes and Consequences of the American Revolution*, in thirteen Discourses, preached in North-America, between the years 1763 and 1775—with an historical preface, by Jonathan Boucher, A. M. and F. A. S.—Vicar of Epsom in the county of Surry, London. 1797." A work which does equal credit to its author, by the soundness of the principles which it inculcates, both in religion and politics, and by the manner in which they are enforced, from the authority of divine revelation.

which is derived from the church and not from the state, being of a purely spiritual and ecclesiastical nature.

This was the Episcopacy which was first communicated to the American church in the state of Connecticut, in the person of Dr. Samuel Seabury, one of the missionaries from the *society for propagating the gospel in foreign parts*, and a suffering loyalist during the American war, who having brought with him the most ample attestations of his character and qualifications, both from the clergy of Connecticut, and those of the neighbouring state of New-York, was consecrated by the bishops in Scotland in the year 1784, and some years after joined with, and assisted the bishops who received consecration at Lambeth, in giving a bishop to the protestant Episcopal church in the state of Maryland, and in other business that came before what is called the House of Bishops in America.* This happy coalition, in forming and establishing the constitution of the church in the United American States, was justly considered by those who had a hand in promoting it, as the best means of uniting them also in doctrine, discipline and worship; whilst it exhibits that becoming desire, and resolution to maintain a Christian fellowship and communion with the Episcopal church in this country, which must ever be regarded as a public acknowledgment on their part, of the validity of our orders, and the regularity of that Episcopal succession, from which they are derived.

* This appears from a "*Journal of the Proceedings of the Bishops, Clergy, and Laity of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, in a convention held in the city of New-York, in September*, 1792." In which journal it is mentioned, that Bishop Seabury preached by appointment, at the opening of the convention, and afterwards assisted Bishops Provoost, White, and Madison, in the consecration of Dr. Clagget, as bishop of the church in Maryland. "In 1793, Bishop Seabury published at New-York, two volumes of discourses, which are such as might have brought credit to any prelate, in any age, and in any country." He died in February, 1796, and for a character of him, see Mr. Boucher's work, mentioned in the preceding note, p. 556, and also the obituary of the Gentleman's Magazine for May, 1797, p. 442.

On this point, therefore, we presume, it would be superfluous to add any thing more to that abundant evidence, which has been already produced, and which, we would hope, must be considered as perfectly sufficient to show, how little ground Dr. Campbell had for making use of such a contemptuous and vilifying comparison, as that which he laid before his pupils, in the following passage of his eleventh lecture. "Let no true son of our church be offended, that I acknowledge our nonjurors to have a *sort* of Presbyterian ordination;" (alluding to what he had said just before, of the present Scotch Episcopal clergy having their ordination solely from presbyters) "for I would by no means be understood as equalizing theirs to that which obtains with us. Whoever is ordained amongst us, is ordained a bishop by a class of bishops. It is true, we neither assume the titles, nor enjoy the revenues, of the dignified clergy, so denominated in other countries; but we are not the less bishops in every thing essential, for being more conformable to the apostolic and primitive model, when every bishop had but one parish, one congregation, one church or place of common worship, one altar or communion table, and was perhaps as poor as any of us. Whereas the ordination of our nonjurors proceeds from presbyters in their own (that is, in the worst) sense of the word, men to whom a part only of the ministerial powers was committed, and from whom particularly was withheld the right of transmitting orders to others. When we say that our orders are from presbyters, we do not use the term in their acceptation, but in that, wherein we find it used by Luke, in the Acts of the Apostles, by Paul in his epistles, and (if the name of fathers be thought to add any weight) by the purest and earliest fathers, Clemens Romanus, Polycarp, and others, presbyters, in short, whom the Holy Ghost has made bishops of the flock. But when we say, their orders are from presbyters, we use the word not in the apostolical,

but in the more recent sense, for a sort of subordinate ministers, who are not authorized to ordain, and who, on Dr. Hammond's hypothesis, as well as ours, were not originally in the church."

On a calm, candid, and attentive perusal of the foregoing passage, we can hardly refrain from asking even after the manner, which some perhaps will not think over-polite, of one of the reviewers of these lectures—" Is this the language and reasoning of Dr. Campbell, the justly celebrated author of the *Dissertation on Miracles*, and of the valuable work, entitled, *The Philosophy of Rhetoric?* So says the editor, and we dare not contradict him; but it is such reasoning as would disgrace a school-boy who had ever looked into a treatise of logic."* Let us examine it a little, with all the impartiality which can be expected from persons, whose right to the true clerical character is held forth by it in, what must appear to them, the most pitiful and degrading light. Had it even been acknowledged, that they had real genuine presbyterian ordination, perhaps they would not have thought themselves very highly complimented; but to bring them down to something, diminutively represented as only a *sort* of presbyterian ordination, is truly humiliating, and would require much more strength of argument than Dr. Campbell has thought fit to produce for effecting such a bold depression of our Episcopal orders. Endeavouring to show the superior authority of the orders of presbyterians, he indeed affirms, but affirmation is not proof, " that whoever is ordained amongst them, is ordained a bishop by a class of bishops." If then there be any regard due to succession at all, may it not be asked, what class of bishops ordained bishop Calvin at Geneva, or bishop Knox in Scotland? The former, as far as appears from his history, never had ordination of any kind, though few bishops ever assumed more of the Episcopal

* See *Anti-Jacobin Review* for July, 1801, p. 246.

power than he did; and the latter, if he received any orders at all, which seems to be very uncertain, yet could only have been ordained a presbyter, or one of those to whom, even by our Professor's own account "a part only of the ministerial powers was committed, and from whom was particularly withheld the right of transmitting orders to others." How then could he or any of the class of presbyters at the reformation, take upon them to transmit to others what themselves had not received; or pretend to exercise a right, which had been always, by divine institution, withheld from the office to which they had been appointed?

Were it however to be granted, in contradiction to the clearest evidence of scripture and antiquity, that bishops and presbyters being originally of the same order, no distinction ought ever to have been made between them, nor any exclusive powers assigned to the one, more than to the other; yet, as Dr. Campbell allows, that "those men, who came under the hands of Bishop Ross, had been *regularly* admitted ministers or *presbyters*, before the revolution, and that the orders of the present Scotch Episcopal clergy are derived from these presbyters," we may submit to the judgment of any unprejudiced person, whether the ordination of those clergy be not in every respect as valid as that of any other body of men who derive their orders only from presbyters, and much more so than that which can be traced to no source of ecclesiastical power at all, but owes its origin solely to the appointment of the people, or the authority of the civil magistrate. In a case so plain, and where the premises are so clear, it might have been thought, that the conclusion would be equally obvious, and that no "true son" of a presbyterian church, would ever have objected to *any sort* of, what is really, presbyterian ordination, or made any difference between the powers of those presbyters, who were surely all alike subordinate ministers as well before, as at the time of the reformation;

and who could not since have acquired a right to change the inherent nature of their powers, or to make themselves a different order from what they were originally intended to be. Yet Dr. Campbell has found out a distinction between our acceptation of the word "presbyters," which he calls not only a "more recent," but the "worst sense" of it, and the "apostolical," which is no doubt the best sense in which he uses it; as if the difference between his sense of the word and ours could make any difference in the nature of the office, or render it better to him and worse to us, according to the sense in which it is taken. This seems to be just the same as adopting the popular argument of the Romish doctors in recommending their transubstantiation, "crede quod habes, et habes," believe that you have, and you have it. Let a man but believe, that he possesses any office, or that the office which he possesses has particular powers assigned to it, and nothing more is necessary to put him in possession either of the one or the other. The absurdity here is the same, as if a subaltern in the army should take the command of a regiment, because he believes himself to be as much an officer as his colonel, or a justice of the peace assume the powers of the Lord High Chancellor, because they are both judges.

When Dr. Campbell presumed that his orders were *better* than those of the Scotch Episcopal clergy, because theirs were only from presbyters, as "a sort of subordinate ministers who are not authorized to ordain," whereas his were from "presbyters in the acceptation used by Luke, by Paul, by Clemens Romanus, Polycarp, and others of the purest and earliest fathers; presbyters, in short, whom the Holy Ghost had made bishops of the flock;"* all this amounts to nothing more than bare, bold presumption, without the least appearance of proof. He could not but know, that we never pretended to deny the power of the

* Lecture xi.

Holy Ghost to make bishops of the flock, not only of presbyters, but even of deacons and laymen too, if he was pleased so to do. This, however, we are sure, was never done in the ordinary way, but by a more certain and evident mode of appointment than any inward "consciousness," or mere effect of fancy, which yet appears to be all that our Professor had to support him, when he thus attacked the pious and learned Dodwell.*—"I have stronger evidence that you have no mission, than all your traditions, and antiquities, and catalogues will ever be able to surmount." And what is this evidence, which must be strong indeed, to set aside all these means of ascertaining a divine mission, which have been so long and generally received? We have all that is brought forward against them in what immediately follows—"For if he, whom God sendeth, speaketh the words of God, (and this is a test which Christ himself hath given us) he who contradicteth God's words is not sent by him." And by this rule it is, that all the pretenders to "mission," even the wildest of our modern missionaries, endeavour to justify their pretensions on the ground of their "speaking the words of God," of which they, no doubt, think themselves the best judges. On this ground, too, our learned Professor might have saved himself a great deal of the trouble he took in seeking for other arguments to run down the orders of the Scotch Episcopal clergy, since all he had to do was barely to affirm, that they "contradict God's words,"—therefore, they have no mission. It was likewise quite unnecessary, in arguing against the pretensions of these clergy, that he should take any peculiar merit to himself and his brethren, on account of their "not assuming the titles nor enjoying the revenues of the dignified clergy, so denominated in other countries, although they are not the less bishops in every thing essential, for being more conformable to the apostolical and pri-

* Lecture iv.

mitive model;" since he knew very well that the Scotch Episcopal clergy were as destitute of titles or revenues as he could pretend to be; and however he might have wished to sneer at the "dignified clergy in other countries," yet when he condescended to compare his own church with "our sect," the only question was, which of these two was most "conformable to the apostolical and primitive model." It is by this conformity that we think ourselves at present peculiarly distinguished, in all the instances of unity which he has mentioned, as they were understood in the language, and explained by the practice of the truly apostolical church. And if his comparative "poverty" be any just mark of "conformity to the primitive model," it will not be easy to deny the preference in this respect to the present Scotch Episcopal church, of whose ministers it may not improperly be said, in the language of an apostle, that they are "as poor, yet making many rich, as having nothing" that can be called temporal, and settled revenue, "yet possessing all things" that pertain to spiritual or Christian edification.*

But there is still something farther to be said in support of the validity of the Scotch Episcopal orders, when thus drawn into a comparison with that *sort* of presbyterian ordination, which obtains under the establishment of this

* It cannot be thought impertinent to mention here an anecdote recorded in the life of that truly "dignified clergyman," the late Dr. Horne, bishop of Norwich, who, his biographer says—"from the present circumstances of its primitive orthodoxy, piety, poverty, and depressed state, had such an opinion of the Scotch Episcopal Church, as to think, that if the great apostle of the Gentiles were upon earth, and it were put to his choice with what denomination of Christians he would communicate, the preference would probably be given to the Episcopalians of Scotland, as most like to the people he had been used to." See life of Dr. Horne, in Mr. Jones' Works, vol. xii. p. 176. It can give no offence, we hope, thus to state a President of Magdalen College in Oxford, over against a Principal of Marischal College in Aberdeen, as at least equally competent to judge in matters of apostolical conformity.

country, where every one that is ordained by the established rules, Dr. Campbell says, "is ordained a bishop by a class of bishops." He had also before laid it down as an invariable maxim, that the name *bishop*, which means *overseer*, cannot with any propriety be applied to any person, who has nothing to oversee, and, therefore, "a bishop continues a bishop only whilst he continues to have people under his spiritual care." Dr. Campbell, then, having been ordained a bishop, or what was the same with him, a minister, could only continue to be so, whilst he had people under his ministry or spiritual care. Yet we are told by his biographer, that in June, 1795, finding himself, no doubt, as his letter expresses it—"providentially in a situation of living independently of the emoluments of office," he resigned his charge of *minister* of Grey-friars' church, as well as that of Professor of Divinity in Marischal College, into the hands of the presbytery of Aberdeen, "entreating them to declare him released in future from these functions, and the pastoral relation implied in them loosed;" with a caution, however, against any misconstruction of his meaning expressed in these words—"I hope I shall not be misunderstood by any to mean, by this deed, a resignation of the *character* of a *minister* of the gospel, and servant of Christ. In this character I glory, so far am I from intending to resign it but with my breath; nor do I mean to retain it only as a title. For if, by the blessing of God, I should yet be able to do any real service, either in defence, or in illustration of the Christian cause, I shall think it my honour, as well as my duty, and the highest gratification of which I am capable, to be so employed. It is only *from the particular relation to the people of Aberdeen as pastor*, and the theological students of Marischal College, as teacher, that it is my desire to be *loosed*."*

* See the *Account of his Life and Writings* prefixed to his Lectures.

The reader perhaps will be a little surprized to find in this letter, some regard expressed for that very thing called "*character*," in a minister of the gospel, which the same person, in his Lectures, has treated with so much pointed scorn and disrespect. But what we are chiefly concerned to lay hold of, is the very appropriate weapon, which is here put into our hands, for defending the validity of our orders, against the only blow which Dr. Campbell could find the means of aiming at them. His peculiar attack on the Scotch Episcopal clergy, we have seen, is wholly supported by his pretending, that they derive their orders from "bishops merely nominal;" and that these bishops were thus "merely nominal," because they received no particular assignment to any Episcopal charge, for want of which he does not scruple to call their consecration *farcical*, or of no signification. Had he been now alive, we should certainly have wished to ask him, what material difference there is, between a man's retaining the title after resigning the charge, and accepting of the title at first without the charge? We see him announcing himself to be a bishop or pastor, ordained by a class of the same kind, and by that very ordination, assigned and bound to a particular pastoral charge, without which, by his own account, he can no longer continue to be a bishop, pastor, or minister; yet from that charge he desires to be released, and to have his pastoral relation to it loosed, but still means to retain his character as a *minister* of the gospel, and is willing "to be employed either in defending or illustrating the Christian cause, as far as he is able," which can only mean his doing it, as a minister, bishop or pastor. And what is all this but intending to act as a bishop ordained at large; to be a pastor without a flock, a minister without having any people under his ministerial or spiritual care, and to continue a bishop, even when he had no charge to oversee or inspect? If then in this assumed character, he had pretended to baptize a child, or administer the sacrament of

the Lord's supper, or assist a class of bishops in ordaining a bishop, must not every thing of this kind, on his own principles, have been no better than a *farcical* ceremony, performed by one who had no power or right to perform any such office, being in fact, no other than a bishop, pastor or minister "*merely nominal?*" But as Dr. Campbell, no doubt, would have spurned at the idea of acting in such a fictitious character, why was he so ready, without just ground, to apply the same censure to others, and to hold up to contempt, as bishops "merely nominal," those who had surely as good a right to be esteemed real and true bishops, as he had, even by his own way of arguing, to be considered as a minister of the gospel, after he had resigned his pastoral charge, and so renounced the only title he could have, by his own principles, to that official character?—If he wished to retain such a character only on the supposition of his still "being able to do some service either in defence, or in illustration of the Christian cause," the same privilege might have been allowed to those whom he thought proper to call "nominal bishops," many of whom well could, and some of them actually did defend and illustrate what they believed to be the Christian cause, and on that footing, might certainly claim, as well as Dr. Campbell, to be considered as, what they really were, bishops of the Christian church. We offer this reasoning merely in return to the Doctor's "argumentum ad hominem," and to show how much his practice, in the affair of his resignation, "militated against his principles." If he was at so much pains to condemn us, as he thought, on our own principles, it is but fair that we should be allowed to make use of *his* principles, as far as we can, in our own vindication.

It is entirely for the purpose of vindicating ourselves, that we have been so long detained, and obliged to make so many remarks, on the lecture now before us, which appears to have been wholly levelled at, what the Lecturer

calls* "a pretty numerous class, and these not all Romanists:" By which description we may easily perceive, that he means the class whom he had, twice in this lecture, distinguished by the obnoxious title of "*our nonjurors*," although in a former lecture he had candidly owned, "that we have *none* of that description at present." That some kind of reflection was intended by this appellation, may at least be suspected, from his always applying it as a mark of distinction, without any reference to the political sentiments which gave rise to it, and particularly from the abuse which he pours out, with an unusual flow of acrimony, on a most learned and distinguished writer, whom he afterwards introduces to our notice, as "a zealous defender of prelacy," and what is worse, by the opprobrious designation of "the Irish *nonjuror*, Dodwell,"† distinguishing those who maintain that Episcopal ordination is necessary to the valid administration of the sacraments of our religion, by the title of "*Dodwellians*;"‡ as if this were a doctrine peculiar to *nonjurors*, and therefore so zealously maintained by Dodwell.

A similar intention is too obvious to escape notice in the treatment which our Lecturer bestows on another no less

* Lecture xi.

† Page 96—122. This great and good man had, no doubt, many singularities of opinion, but none that could justify such abusive epithets as these—"Arrogant and vain man! What are you, who so boldly and avowedly presume to foist into God's covenant, articles of your own devising, neither expressed nor implied in his words? Do *you* venture—a worm of the earth? Can *you* think yourself warranted—for your own malignant purpose—to exhibit Christ, as the head of a faction—your party forsooth?—Your language is neither the language of scripture, nor of common sense." P. 90. It was the severity of this language of Dr. Campbell's, which provoked the *Anti-Jacobin Reviewer* to make that bold and animated retort, which we meet with in his number for June, 1801, p. 112, and for which he makes a suitable apology, wishing rather to plead the cause of truth in the words of soberness.

‡ An epithet not peculiar to Dr. Campbell, as Mr. Anderson, of Dunbarton, had made use of it long before. See his *Defence, &c.* p. 98.

distinguished *nonjuror*, the pious and learned Dr. Hickes, who had been dean of Worcester, and was deprived of that dignity, as the bishops of Scotland were ejected from their sees, in consequence of the revolution. The character of this celebrated divine had been severely handled by our Professor in his tenth letter, on the subject of the resemblance between the Jewish and Christian priesthood; and here again, in the conclusion of the eleventh lecture, a heavy charge is brought forward against him in the following terms:—"An author of whose sentiments I took some notice in my last lecture, has observed,* that as the civilians have their fictions in law, our theologists also have their fictions in divinity. It is but too true, that some of our theological systems are so stuffed with these, that little of plain truth is to be learned from them. And I think it will be doing no injury to this dogma of the character, to rank it among those fictions in divinity. God forbid I should add, in the not very decent words of that author, (though I really believe he meant no harm by them) *which infinite wisdom and goodness have devised for our benefit and advantage.* The God of truth needs not the assistance of falsehood, nor is the cause of truth to be promoted by such means. The use of metaphorical expressions, or figurative representations, in scripture, give no propriety to such an application of a term so liable to abuse."—And we may too justly add, that there is hardly a term in scripture which is not liable to abuse, nay, which has not actually been abused by the depravity and perverseness of the human imagination. The word *fiction* properly signifies something feigned or invented, for the purpose of conveying information, whether true or false. In leading to the discovery of truth, it is much the same as figure, or representation, and nothing, we know, is more common, than, in speaking of that mysterious institution, to call the consecrated bread and cup in

* Hickes' *Christian Priesthood*, lib. i. cap. ii. § 8.

the eucharist, the representative symbols of the body and blood of Christ. Dr. Hickes was treating of the propriety of calling them so, because they are substituted and deputed for that body and blood, which they thus mystically represent. "This power," says he, "in legislators, of making and supposing things to be to all intents and purposes, and effects in law, what in reality they are not, is called by the civil law—*fiction.*" After which, he produces various instances of such *fiction* in the Roman law, and in the common law of England, and then adds—"In like manner, there are *fictions* in divinity, which infinite wisdom and goodness have devised for our benefit and advantage. Thus man and wife are supposed to be, and therefore are made *one flesh*, as the law makes them *one person*. Thus Christ is supposed to be the Lamb slain from the *foundation of the world:* Thus also the doctrine of *adoption* is a *divine* fiction in the gospel, as it was an *human* fiction in the Roman law, and in both cases hath all the effects of real and legitimate sonship. And, therefore, I hope, it is no great or dangerous paradox to say, that by *divine fiction* or *substitution*, the bread is made the body, and the wine the blood of Christ," &c. And nothing surely can be more harmless than these observations, which need not to have occasioned so much horror and indignation, as seem to have been raised by them in the breast of our Lecturer. We may, therefore, justly enough observe, that "to have spoken with proper respect of men of such profound erudition, and distinguished excellence, as *Dodwell* and *Hickes*, however mistaken they might be, would certainly not have diminished in the least Dr. Campbell's own reputation in the the world."*

As this is the opinion of a clergyman of the church of England, as by law established under the present government, it cannot be supposed to proceed from any prejudice

* See Mr. Daubeny's *eight Discourses on the Doctrine of Atonement*, p. 73.

or partiality in favour of the political sentiments peculiar to *nonjurors:* And since Dr. Campbell's account of those whom he calls the "Scotch Episcopal party," and still represents as continuing in their *nonjuring* principles, seems to imply a suspicion that their original or transmitted disaffection to government may have been the cause of some defect or irregularity in the transmission of their clerical orders, we cannot do better than sum up what has been already said on this subject, in the words of the same author whose opinion we have just now quoted, and who could not be influenced by any personal or interested motives to speak of the *nonjuring* clergy either of England, Ireland or Scotland, but as they really were, and showed themselves to be both in their principles, and their conduct. Having occasion to mention some of these clergy, as zealous defenders of apostolic Episcopacy, such as *Dodwell* and *Hickes*, *Leslie** and *Law*, he argues in the following manner on the validity of their ministerial commission.

* In a note subjoined to Bishop HORNE's excellent Sermon on the *Duty of contending for the Faith*, preached at the primary visitation of the present archbishop of Canterbury, in 1786—we find the following character of Mr. Leslie and his writings—"The polemical skill of a Leslie is an expression of Bolinbroke. A clergyman's library should not be without this author's theological works, in two volumes, folio, containing his pieces against Deists, Jews, Romanists, Socinians, and Quakers. He is said to have brought more persons, from other persuasions, into the church of England, than any man ever did; his skill in conversation being equal to that in writing. Allowance must be made for a style, which, though sufficiently perspicuous and nervous, is not according to the modern ideas of correctness and elegance. Bayle styles him a man of great merit and learning. Mr. T. Salmon observes, that his works must transmit him to posterity, as a man thoroughly learned and truly pious. But a better and more disinterested judge, Mr. Harris, informs us, that he made several converts from popery, and says that notwithstanding his mistaken opinions about government, and a few other matters, he deserves the highest praise for defending the Christian religion against Deists, Jews, and Quakers, and for admirably well supporting the doctrines of the church of England against those of Rome. See *Biographical Dictionary.*" Bishop Horne then adds—"Mr. Leslie's writings have

"When I consider, that among the nonjuring clergy, are to be found some of the most pious, most learned and most conscientious divines that ever adorned the church of England, I cannot help thinking, that the government would have gained more in honour, than it would have lost in security, had such men been permitted to have remained in possession of their preferments. But admitting, that policy demanded that the nonjuring clergy should be deprived, it is to be observed, that they were deprived only of those seculiar possessions, which the church had derived from her connection with the state. Their offence, if it may be called by so harsh a name, was of a *political* nature; their punishment corresponded to it. They offended against the ruling powers; they, in consequence lost their patronage. But all the rights, dignities and emoluments, which the priesthood derives from the piety and patronage of civil rulers, are quite distinct from that spiritual commission, by which the clergy administer the affairs of Christ's kingdom. Of this commission they could not be deprived by *civil* rulers, because it had been received from an higher authority. The office, therefore, which the nonjuring clergy held in the Christian church, was precisely the same, and every act of it as valid, abstractedly considered, after their deprivation, as it was before; what they had been deprived of, being only those contingent circumstances of emolument and honour, which have no necessary connection with the ministerial commission. The spiritual character of a bishop, and his particular local jurisdiction, have been, at different times, and under different circumstances, separated from each other: But a man may still be a true bishop, whether he has or has not any particular district, over which he is authorized to

been neglected, because he had the misfortune to be a *nonjuror*. But since the age is disposed to drop prejudices, it is a pity that this alone should be suffered to remain, especially as the subject of it is now—'waxed old and ready to vanish away."

preside. Such, in a theological sense, I conceive the nonjuring bishops were; and I do not see how the testimony of such divines, upon the subject of church government, can be affected by an offence committed against the civil power; on the contrary, I should think such testimony ought to weigh heavy in the scale, from the consideration, that the parties who furnished it, (whatever judgment may be formed of their political opinions) had given the most unequivocal proof of their being honest men, by sacrificing every temporal advantage to the preservation of their consciences."*

Such is the opinion given of the nonjuring clergy in general, by a writer who, as we before observed, cannot be supposed to feel any particular bias in favour of the cause, for which they were first distinguished by the title of *nonjurors*, but seems to have a very just idea of their principles and conduct as ecclesiastics; and that is now the only light in which we have any occasion to view their character or sentiments, all other objects of discussion being at last taken out of the way, and every question respecting their political attachments entirely laid to rest. Those, however, who have succeeded them in their ecclesiastical character, and have been the means of preserving a regular Episcopal succession in this country, are still, it seems, suspected of inheriting also some share of their disaffection to the established government; which must have been the only reason that could have induced Dr. Campbell to keep up against them the odious title of *nonjurors*, as a mark of their supposed disaffection. As we have, therefore, sufficiently vindicated the conduct of our predecessors in handing down those spiritual powers, with which the present Scotch Episcopal clergy, according to the nature of their several orders, have been duly invested; it is but fair that we be now al-

* See an *Appendix to the Guide to the Church*, in answer to Sir Richard Hill, Bart. By the Rev. Charles Daubeny, L.L. B. London, 1799.

lowed to speak for ourselves, and humbly to request, that the following plain and honest representation of our case may be properly attended to, by all who have a right to be satisfied with respect to our loyalty as subjects, and especially by those who, professing to hold the same religious principles as we do, are yet, it is said, kept back from joining our communion, by entertaining groundless suspicions against us, in regard to this very article.

It has been already observed, that in consequence of the legal abolition of Episcopacy, which took place soon after the revolution in 1688, those who professed an adherence to the old ecclesiastical system were on that account suspected of still maintaining a spirit of disaffection to the new government. This is a fact which cannot be denied, and perhaps may be easily accounted for, from the natural operation of those heavy penalties by which their worship was prohibited, or at least the public celebration of it severely restricted. Under these discouraging circumstances, which continued in full force for many years, it was hardly possible for the Scotch Episcopalians to throw off the reproach of disloyalty which, in the opinion of the public at large, had been almost inseparably annexed to their religious profession. All they could do, was to conduct themselves in such a quiet and inoffensive manner, as might convince government, that there was no danger to be apprehended from their principles, and therefore no necessity for with-holding from them any longer that lenity and indulgence which they have so liberally experienced ever since our present most gracious Sovereign came to the throne. The wisdom and clemency of his Majesty's government, so happily manifested from the commencement of his reign, encouraged them to hope, that an offer of their allegiance would not be rejected: and as soon as they could make that offer in a conscientious manner, and consistently with the principles by which, it was known, their conduct had been uniformly influenced, they had the satisfaction to find, from the King's

answer to their address, that it was graciously accepted; in consequence of which, they could not but hope, that the British legislature would take their case into consideration, and see the expediency of relieving both clergy and laity of the Episcopal communion in Scotland from the restraints and penalties to which they had been long exposed in the exercise of their religion. With this hope, an application was made to Parliament in their behalf; and in the act that was passed for their relief in the year 1792, one of the clauses of the preamble ran in these terms—" Whereas there is sufficient reason to believe that the pastors, ministers and laity of the Episcopal communion in Scotland, are now well attached to his Majesty's person, family and government." And if at that time the King and Parliament of Great-Britain had sufficient reason to believe, that we were such dutiful and loyal subjects, the subsequent period has afforded the most ample proof of our earnest desire to embrace every means in our power that might tend to confirm that belief, and show us to be worthy of the good character which was then so honourably conferred upon us. The period we allude to has been disgracefully distinguished by every possible art that could be devised for seducing subjects from their allegiance. None has ever surpassed it in plots and associations, not for promoting the interests of this or the other candidate for the crown, and setting up one in preference to another, but for the express purpose of cutting off at once the pretensions of every claimant, extirpating the whole race of kings, subverting the foundation of all government, and bursting asunder not only the bonds of civilized society, but every religious tie that connects man with his God, and tends to secure his peace and happiness both here and hereafter.

During all these wild and lawless attempts, which could have nothing for their object but the dissemination of anarchy and confusion, and every evil work, no such base imagination could be laid to the charge of our society. Attach-

ment to kingly power has been always the characteristic of the church to which we belong, and no one has ever been found connected with any seditious club, or democratic party, who dared to call himself a regular Scotch Episcopalian. Through the whole of that awful and arduous contest, in which our country was lately* engaged, whatever aid government could derive from the public solemnities of religion, was regularly afforded in our sacred assemblies: And on the days appointed by royal authority, either for national humiliation, or general thanksgiving, our people were always seen devoutly assembled in their several places of worship, using the various *forms* of *prayer* and *praise*, which were composed for these solemnities, and may still be referred to as proofs of that appropriate mode of devotion with which they were celebrated. On all these occasions, the clergy of our communion did not fail to manifest an exemplary zeal in impressing on the minds of those under their charge, a just sense of their duty as good Christians and as loyal subjects, exhorting them earnestly, in the words of inspired wisdom, to "fear the Lord and the king, and not to meddle with them that are given to change." To the king, as our rightful sovereign, and to his royal family, as pledges of a happy succession to his crown and dignity, we feel ourselves attached by all the ties of conscience, as well as gratitude, and have, therefore, uniformly promoted, to the utmost of our power, those salutary measures of his government, which have, from time to time, been adopted for preserving the internal peace of the kingdom, as well as its security from every hostile invasion.

For the truth of all this, we may appeal, and have appealed to the testimony of those who frequent our places of public worship; many of whom being placed in offices of trust under government, would give no countenance to our religious assemblies, if they did not find them such as are

* This was written during the short continuance of the late *peace*.

not only consistent with the laws, but worthy of protection; and were not perfectly sensible, that his Majesty has no better subjects, nor persons more attached to his government, on principles of permanent loyalty, than the bishops and clergy of the Scotch Episcopal church. May we not then be allowed to ask on what ground it is, that we are still to be branded with the title of *nonjurors*, as a mark of our supposed disaffection in refusing to swear allegiance to the sovereign upon the throne; a supposition as unfounded, as it is meant to be unfavourable, and which can only proceed from a desire to keep up odious and unnecessary distinctions among his Majesty's subjects? Oaths may no doubt be contrived, and, in some instances have been required, both of a civil and religious nature, which we should think ourselves obliged to decline, as neither consistent with our principles, nor suited to our situation. But it is impossible that we could with any propriety, even on our present footing of enjoying toleration only, refuse to swear *allegiance* to a sovereign, for whom we solemnly and sincerely pray, as often as we assemble in the house of prayer, that "God would be his defender and keeper, and give him the victory over all his enemies." With these, and such like petitions, put into our mouths by that excellent liturgy, which we admire, and venerate, and daily use in our public service, it is wonderful that the Scotch Episcopal church should yet be suspected of any thing that looks like disaffection, or any jealousy be entertained of such an ecclesiastical body, even though dissenting from the establishment of Scotland, when by that very dissent, it is more closely united to the established church of England. Yet this bond of union, arising from a similarity of constitution, as far as regards the spiritual authority of the church, has been held up to derision, as a mere imaginary privilege, and the "Scotch Episcopal *party*," as Dr. Campbell has called it, is exposed to ridicule, for adhering to that form of ecclesiastical polity, which has the sanction of legal and constitutional support in the far

greater, and most distinguished part of the British Empire. We need not then be ashamed of its being said, however we may object to the terms in which it is mentioned, that this adherence to the polity of the primitive church "is made a principal foundation of dissent by a pretty numerous *sect* in this country." For though we have no right to value ourselves on our numbers, in proportion to the population of Scotland, and it is no part of our belief, that the truth must necessarily be on the side of the majority, yet we see no reason why the terms, *sect* and *party*, should be applied, as marks of reproach, to those whose religious denomination as *Episcopal*, is countenanced by that of the sovereign on the throne, of the "*Lords spiritual* in parliament assembled," and of much the largest proportion of the inhabitants of the united kingdom, when compared to those of any other religious persuasion.

These considerations might be thought sufficient to secure the Episcopacy of Scotland from the disgraceful imputation of being allied to that sectarian spirit which delights in opposition to whatever is established, and is never satisfied, till every institution of superior dignity and merit be brought down to its own mean, debasing standard. This is not the doctrine by which we wish to be distinguished; nor ought we to be ranked among those modern authors of division, the founders of new sects, of whom Dr. Campbell observes—"it is hard to conceive to what the disciples of some recent sectarians can be made proselytes, unless to uncharitableness, hatred and calumny against their fellow Christians, and that on the most frivolous or unintelligible pretexts." As we do not deal in "hatred or calumny" against any human beings, so neither are the reasons "frivolous or unintelligible," for which we have continued in a state of separation from the religious establishment of this part of our island: a separation founded on the most substantial and important grounds; such as have been long topics of serious discussion, and may be easily

understood by all who are desirous to inquire into them. We do not, therefore, consider ourselves as having any relation, or even resemblance to those "modern authors of division, who are daily introducing new sects in countries, where Christianity is universally professed, and where there is free access by the scriptures, both to its doctrine and to its precepts." Yet Dr. Campbell, who gives this account of them and their proceedings, might have known, that these "recent sectaries," as he calls them, and who are still abounding more and more in number and influence, are not slow to vindicate themselves on such pretences as these—"that the scripture, though in all hands, is either abused or neglected; that Christianity, though universally professed among us, is no more than a bare profession; that its doctrines are not properly understood, nor its precepts rightly applied; and, therefore, they come with a charitable zeal, to rectify every abuse, to preach the true gospel in this unenlightened land, and open the eyes of a blind, deluded people."

This has been the sectarian cry in all ages; and how far it may be either checked or encouraged by some of the arguments made use of in these *Lectures*, we shall not pretend to determine. That they have no particular tendency to repress the sectarian spirit, may indeed be justly inferred from the character given of them by one sufficiently acquainted with their whole end and object, and who tells us plainly, that the study recommended by them, "can give no offence to any, but to those who maintain the *jus divinum* (divine right) of bishops, and their hereditary succession from the apostles."*—Indeed, the Lecturer himself makes a kind of apology even for those "contentious teachers," to whom he had been alluding, and "of whom he would not presume to say, that they may not occasionally do good,

* See the view of Dr. Campbell's *Prelections in Theology*, prefixed to his *Lectures*.

though there be but too great reason to dread that the evil preponderates. And even here," says he, "I am to be understood as speaking of the first authors of such unchristian separations. I know too well the power of education and of early prejudice, to impute equal malignity to those who may succeed them, whether teachers or disciples."*

All this, to be sure, is perfectly agreeable to Dr. Campbell's well known sentiments on the subject of heresy and schism, the last of which particularly he seemed to consider as a breach of *charity*, and not a breach of *communion*. For so he had expressly said in a work published by himself—"How much soever of a schismatical or heretical spirit, in the apostolic sense of these terms, may have contributed to the formation of the different sects into which the Christian world is at present divided; no person who, in the spirit of candour and charity, adheres to that which, to the best of his judgment is right, though in this opinion he should be mistaken, is in the scriptural sense either schismatic or heretic. And he, on the contrary, whatever sect he belongs to, is more entitled to these odious appellations, who is most apt to throw the imputation upon others."† This description we find particularly applied in the work before us, to that poor persecuted *nonjuror* Mr. Dodwell, against whom, after a great deal more of such bitter declamation, our Lecturer thus goes on—"His unceasing cry was schism;‡ yet in the scriptural sense a greater schismatic than himself the age did not produce. Whose doctrine was ever found more hostile to that fundamental principle declared by our Lord to be the criterion of our Christianity, mutual love? Whose doctrine was ever more successful in planting, by

* Lecture iv.

† See his *Dissertation on Heresy*, prefixed to the Translation of the Gospels, p. 433, 434. 4to. edit.

‡ This is evidently borrowed from the coarser language of Mr. Anderson of Dunbarton, who had sa d of Dodwell, "*Schism, schism* was his everlasting clack." See his *Defence, &c.* p. 31.

means of uncharitable and self-opinioned judgments, the principle of hatred in its stead? The test, to which scripture points is—Does the teaching in question alienate the hearts of Christians, or unite them? Does it conciliate the affections, where differences have unhappily arisen? or, does it widen the breach? If the former, the spirit is Christian; if the latter, schismatical. The former is not more productive of *charity*, the end of the commandment, or gospel covenant, and the bond of perfectness, than the latter is of its opposite, malignity, the source of discord, the parent of intolerance and persecution."*

We acknowledge that all this sounds well, and shows the writer to have possessed a sufficient command of words for any purpose he might have in view. But does it afford any clear, distinct idea of the point in question, or serve to illustrate the scripture sense of schism, of which discord, hatred and malignity may be the *effects*, but certainly are not the *essence?* It is true, an apostle speaks of *schisms* among the Corinthians, even when they seemed to be of the same communion, and were assembled for the same purpose. "When ye come together in the church," says he, "I hear that there be *schisms* or divisions among you:"† And

* Lecture vi.

† 1 Cor. xi. 18. From this text it has often been inferred, that *schism* can only mean a breach of CHARITY, not of *communion;* and with that view it was frequently referred to by the English dissenters, at the time when the question about *occasional conformity* was agitated, and many pamphlets were published to show, that even the apostles formed different communions apart from each other, though they were not scrupulous about mutually communicating now and then, as occasion required. It may, therefore, abate, in some measure, the confidence of Dr. Campbell's admirers, to find that he has only borrowed from others his strange unscriptural notion of schism, the fallacy of which was sufficiently exposed by the learned Mr. Wall, author of the masterly work on *Infant-Baptism*, who, in another publication called—"*A Vindication of the Apostles from a very false imputation laid on them, in several English pamphlets*, viz. *that they refused constant, and held only occasional communion with one another, and with one another's churches;*" adverting to the above men-

it is likewise evident from the context, that by the *schisms* of which the Corinthians were guilty, the apostle meant their breaking off into separate parties, that the rich, despising the poor, might partake of the Lord's supper by themselves; which was such an uncharitable and unbecoming division, as, if not timeously checked, would soon have led to that, which even Dr. Campbell acknowledges, "was considered as the great criterion of schism, the setting up another altar, beside the one altar of the bishop." But when he flies off from this fair and just standard, by which every thing relating to schism ought to be measured, and endeavours to entangle the subject with a number of questions, plausible indeed, but far from being pertinent, all we have to do, is to balance these with a few other questions, much more apposite and equally important, by asking in return—Is there no other criterion of Christianity, but mutual love? Is there not a *faith* to be contended for, as well as a *charity* to be inculcated? And is not a perversion of the former as much to be guarded against, as a wounding of the latter? Was the beloved disciple of a schismatical or sectarian spirit, when he gave this warning to those whom he loved in the truth—"If there come any unto you, and bring not this doctrine, receive him not into your house, neither bid him God speed?"* Would Dr. Campbell himself have been guilty of "wounding charity," if his preaching disagree-

tioned notion of schism, as supported by the text we have quoted, argues in the following manner.—"This is just as if any one should prove, that actual killing of a man is not in the scripture notion murder, by this argument, that the scripture does sometimes call hatred—murder. He that hateth his brother is a murderer. (St. John iii. 15.] Or that actual defiling a woman is not, in our Soviour's sense, adultery, because he sometimes calls lusting after her by that name If St. Paul do call those animosities, and the taking of sides, which had not yet broken out into actual separation, and renouncing of communion, but was in a fair way to it, by the name of schism, how much more would he have called it so, if they had proceeded to an absolute division, two altars set up in opposition to one another?"

* 2 St. John v. 10.

able, though necessary truths, should at any time have offended his hearers, and made them prefer more accommodating teachers? Yet *wounding of charity*, like what he lays to the charge of Dodwell, we may justly say, is his "unceasing cry;" and when he meets with sentiments congenial to his own on this subject, he does not fail to recommend them in the strongest terms, as "conveying an idea of the church truly rational, enlarged and sublime!"*

This, no doubt, may be all very fine, as intended to display, what our learned Theologist calls—the "liberal spirit of the gospel:" But we must confess, whatever shall be thought of our "ideas" of the matter, that "*we* have not so learned Christ," nor been taught to consider any thing connected with what is now termed "liberality of spirit," as at all favourable to the pure and genuine truths of the gospel. These truths, we are told, are to be spoken in love; but still they must be spoken and maintained, as God has delivered them to us; and no separation should ever be attempted between the love which Christianity requires, and the truth which it reveals. That love which has not this truth for its foundation, is but a false appearance of charity, as every thing must be, which encourages men in those errors that are destructive to their souls. Yet nothing is more evident, than that men are too much disposed to seek this encouragement to themselves, and too willing to believe, that while they are sincere in their profession, whatever that profession may be, no danger is to be apprehended either from ignorance or error. St. Paul, it may be presumed, was as sincere in his profession as any man could be, when "he lived in all good conscience after the manner of the law of his fathers, and was zealous towards God, verily believing, that he ought to do many things contrary to the name of Jesus:" And yet, after he became a Christian, he acknowledged, that in all this he had been no better than

* Lecture iv.

"a blasphemer, a persecutor, and injurious." It was a confident dependence on his own sincerity, as well as a high opinion of his superior knowledge, that made him so strenuously resist, before his conversion, all the evidence that could be offered for the truth of the gospel. And to the same, or similar causes, it may still be owing, that so many who profess to receive this faith as delivered to the church by duly commissioned teachers, are yet unwilling to believe, that any such commission is necessary either for preserving the faith, or supporting the unity of the church, or that there is any thing wrong in heresy and schism, if they be only embraced, and adhered to, "in the spirit of candour and charity."

Indeed, if by the word *Church* we are to understand every sect or party which professes to be Christian, whatever be the form of its ministry, or the authority of those employed in its service, there can be no such thing as *schism*, considered as a separation from the church of Christ. Hatred, or malignity, or something else may be found out, whereon to fix the imputation of schism, as something sinful in the sight of God; but this is evidently to clothe one sin in the dress of another, that by giving the same appellation to both, we may seem to lessen the number of transgressions, though without diminishing the proportion of their guilt. This is a species of self-deceit, which every wise man would wish to avoid; and, therefore, in order to deal honestly with ourselves, we must take care to view the things of religion, not according to the passions or prejudices of men, but in that light only wherein the scriptures of truth represent them; which is particularly necessary with regard to the nature of the church, and the nature of schism, as the latter cannot be rightly understood, without a proper knowledge of the former.

For discovering the nature of any society, we generally have recourse to the names or titles by which it is distinguished, and particularly to the descriptions given of it, by

those who had been employed in forming or executing the plan of its constitution, and drawing up the rules that were to be adopted for the management of its concerns. It is by the same means that we have come to the knowledge of the true nature and constitution of that spiritual society called the church of Christ, and which, among other appellations and allusions, expressive of its original purpose, is frequently compared to a body;—and "as we have many members in one body," says St. Paul, "and all members have not the same office, so we being many, are one body in Christ, and every one members one of another."* And to show us more particularly what this body is, we are told by the same apostle, that "God hath put all things under the feet of Christ, and gave him to be the head over all things to the *church*, which is his body, the fulness of him that filleth all in all."† It was for the edifying of this body, that the work of the ministry was appointed, that so Christians "may grow up into him in all things, who is the Head, even Christ; from whom the whole body, fitly joined together, and compacted by that which every joint supplieth, according to the effectual working in the measure of every part, maketh increase of the body, unto the edifying of itself in love."‡

It is this heavenly principle of love, which maintains unity in the church on earth, and prevents that unhappy separation, which would otherwise put an effectual stop to the increase of the body. For this reason, "the members must have the same care, one for another, that there may be no schism in the body;"‖ and when the body is thus preserved from division, it is very properly said to be edified, to be kept together by the cement of faith and love, so as to resemble a compact and commodious building, fitly framed for answering every purpose intended by it. This

* Rom. xii. 4, 5.
† Eph. i. 22, 23.
‡ Ephes. iv. 15, 16.
‖ 1 Cor. xii. 25.

is that "bond of perfectness," as St. Paul calls it, which would secure the firmness of that spiritual building raised "on the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner stone." And without this sound, cementing principle of unity, the firmest foundations, the stateliest walls, the best disposed apartments, would soon become no better than naked and deformed ruins, open to every storm, and exposed to all the desolation of wasting elements. It is under these, and such like bold and striking metaphors, that the apostles of Christ, and St. Paul in particular, describe the design and construction of that solid and durable edifice, reared by them after the model left them by their blessed Master, and so different from the airy, fantastic structures which latter ages have exhibited, according to the humours of the times, and the ever-varying fancies of popular phrensy. But from the view which we have already taken of the first establishment of the Christian church, it must have sufficiently appeared, in what a happy manner the spirit of unity knit all the members together, and how careful every one was to know himself, his station, and his duty, and to think and act soberly, according to the situation which providence had allotted to him.—As the great Head of the church had appointed divers orders and officers in it, they could not but see the necessity of preserving the subordination which he had established; and they all conspired, "as workers together" for the same blessed purpose, to be faithful in their several departments, each contributing his best endeavours "to the perfecting of the saints, to the work of the ministry, to the edifying of the body of Christ."

Such, then, being the nature and design of the Christian church, considered as a visible society, formed by Christ himself, for the gracious purpose of uniting men to him, in faith, love and obedience here, and by that means, in everlasting glory hereafter, we may well suppose, that such

a holy and heavenly society, so evidently designed for the happiness of mankind, would not fail to awaken the spite and envy of that spiritual enemy, who having, from the beginning of the world, acted in opposition to the *Saviour*, has been emphatically called the *Destroyer*, as perpetually bent on the destruction and misery of the human race. No sooner was the church founded on earth, than the malice of hell was directed against it; and as the power of its adversary could not prevail, for its total overthrow, his great object was, to render it as ineffectual as possible to the merciful purpose for which it was intended, by undermining it secretly in the way of discord and division, when he could not beat it down directly by an open and bold attack.

Hence, then, we may discover the nature and origin of that sin against the church, and, consequently, against its divine Founder, which Christians have been long and earnestly warned to avoid, as most dangerous and deadly, under the name of *schism*, a word which, from the scriptural application of its original meaning, must signify a cutting off, or separating from that ecclesiastical body, of which Christ is the Head, and, therefore, a deprivation of that nourishment and strength which he affords to all his faithful members. This was undoubtedly the primitive, nay, the apostolical sense of the word *schism*, whatever attempts may have been made to pervert its natural meaning, and give a softer turn to the application of it. Custom, which reconciles us almost to every thing, has brought us at last to look upon the divisions which now take place among those who profess to be Christians, in a very different light from that in which they would have been viewed in the primitive days of the church: And something which we have substituted for true Christian charity, requires us, it seems, to believe, that the church of Christ is to be found, and, therefore, salvation to be obtained, in any society, or with any denomination of persons professing to be Chris-

tians. Hence it must necessarily be inferred, that as something called a church may be found *every where*, that which we call schism can be found *no where*. This matter, however, is very differently represented in the inspired writings of the New Testament; and if the constitution of the Christian church be the same now that it was in the days of the apostles, the sin of schism must be the same likewise; consisting still, as it did then, in a cutting off, or being cut off, from the body of Christ, a separation from the communion, an encroachment on the government, and a breach in the unity of his church. But the nature and consequences of schism have been so well described by a late eminent divine of the church of England, and in such a concise and energetic manner, that we hope to be excused for giving the following extract from one of his popular and most useful tracts, as fully expressive of our own sentiments on this subject. Having pointed out some prevailing errors with respect to government, and the setting up the power of the people as supreme, whereas the scripture assures us, that "there is no power but of God;" he then proceeds to give an account of that, which has the same effect in the church, that rebellion or sedition has in the state, and his words are these:

"The same principle which disturbs the order of civil government, breaks the peace of the church. When it operates against the state, it is called *the power of the people;* but in religion it is called *private judgment*, and sometimes *conscience;* but it always acts against the judgment of authority. It has been a great misfortune of late times, that we have been partakers in other men's sins, by making too light of the offence and danger of schism. What self-interest denominates liberality and charity, is really nothing but indifference or ignorance. The church being the church of God, it cannot be in the power of man to put ministers into it, and give them authority to act. The rule of the scriptures is therefore absolute, that *no man taketh this*

honour unto himself, but he that is *called of God*, which calling must be visible, because that of Aaron was so, who is the pattern in the scriptures.—Ministers in the Christian church act, for God, to the people; which they cannot do without God's commission.—The rule, and its reason, are both plain to common sense, and want no explanation. It is to be considered farther, that if the promises of God are made to his church, no man can expect to obtain them, by joining himself to any other company of men, after his own fancy. The ark of Noah was a pattern and pledge of the church of Christ; and the persons saved in it, were saved by water, as we are by baptism; so the church of England understands it. Now, let us only ask ourselves, what became of those who were out of the ark? The parallel will suggest what great danger there must be to those who were out of the church. Thus did primitive Christians argue, and unless they had privileges which we have lost, we must argue in the same manner now. If not, we do dishonour to the grace of God, who hath mercifully taken us into the ark of his church, and our indifference will do no good; nobody will be gained by it; offences among men will be multiplied, and the authority of God's religion will be weakened; for if the church may be any thing, men will soon conclude it may be nothing; and who will not own, if his eyes are open, that much of the relaxation and confusion of latter times hath arisen from the poor, low ideas which some good men have entertained and propagated upon this great subject? Others who have dared to argue of late years as Christians did of old, have been branded with the name of *high churchmen*, and very deservedly; for we know of no other true churchmen; but faction, seeking rest for itself, can find none, but by inventing names and distinctions which have no sense in the mouth of a Christian; they are all of this world, and calculated to serve some carnal purpose. Wise people should consider, that whatever examples there may have been of piety,

learning, wit or wisdom, joined with schism, they can never prove that schism is no sin; no man can be taken as authority against the laws of God; and the great law of charity is supreme over all. It is not kindness, but meanness, which shows respect to sin in any man; for no man's person can render sin respectable. What is convenient to him, if pernicious in itself, and its consequences, ought to be detestable to us; and if offence must be given, it is better to offend man than God. Tenderness to schism may be a fine thing, and pass for true piety, so long as men shall judge one another: But when God shall judge us all, it must give an account of itself to him, who is no respecter of persons."*

From this most just and accurate account of *schism*, where a borrowed ray from the true light of the gospel shines in every period, we may clearly see what it is, which "the great law of charity" requires of us. It is not to find excuses for those who prefer any communion of their own invention to that of the Christian church, and would convert into a Babel of confusion, what was designed to be "as a city that is at unity in itself." This is but a poor sort of charity, which has nothing to bestow but indulgence for error, and would rather allow the misguided traveller to lose his way and perish, than be at any pains to show him the path of life, or that light from above, which "would guide his feet into the way of peace." When we are taught to pray, in one of the collects of our church, that God would "pour into our hearts that most excellent gift of charity, the very *bond* of peace, and of all virtues," we are thereby put in mind, that the gift, which we thus implore from heaven, is given for the sole purpose of *binding* us together in peace and unity on earth; and when it ceases to operate in this manner, it is no longer that true

* See "*A Letter to the Church of England, pointing out some popular errors of bad consequence; by an old friend and servant to the church;*" published with the other works of the Rev. William Jones.

Christian charity which is founded in faith, and supported by hope, and can no more exist without these two, than the end can be obtained without using the means. While, therefore, we pray for the gift of *charity*, as persons united in one *hope* of our calling, we must also contend for the one *faith*, which was once delivered to the saints; and of this faith, we are taught to receive the belief of "the holy catholic church," as a most essential and important article.

In this light we have now considered it very fully, and in such a manner as appears to us to be most consistent with the design for which it is revealed to us in scripture, and has always made a part of the Christian creed. If the view we have taken of it, shall be considered as exhibiting a strong attachment on our part to that side of the controversy, which the opposers of our principles have thought proper to distinguish by, what they suppose to be, the odious appellation of *High-Church*, we have only to answer, in the words of a distinguished prelate of the church of England, that "we are not to be scared from our duty by the idle terror of a nick-name, artfully applied in violation of the true meaning of the word," to bring discredit on the principles of those who, disclaiming any sort of divine right to those powers, honours and emoluments, with which the priesthood may be adorned by the wisdom or piety of the civil power, are yet anxious to maintain the importance of its spiritual commission, and not ashamed to acknowledge, that there is in the sacred character somewhat more divine than may belong to the mere hired servants of the state, even that spiritual authority which is necessary for the administration of Christ's spiritual kingdom. According to this sense of the word, adds the learned and venerable Bishop Horsley, "we must be content to be *High-Churchmen*, or we cannot be churchmen at all. For he who thinks of God's ministers, as the mere servants of the state, is out of the church—severed from it by a kind of self-excommunication.—But for those who have been

nurtured in its bosom, and have gained admission to its ministry, if from a mean compliance with the humour of the age, or ambitious of the fame of *liberality of sentiment* (for under that specious name, a profane indifference is made to pass for an accomplishment) they affect to join in the disavowal of the authority which they share, or are silent, when the validity of their divine commission is called in question; for any, I hope, they are few, who hide this weakness of faith, this poverty of religious principle, under the attire of a gown and cassock, they are in my estimation little better than infidels in masquerade."*

This, we trust, will serve as an apology for the attempt that has now been made to vindicate the principles, and support the sacred character, of the bishops and clergy of the Scotch Episcopal church. That " the validity of our divine commission has been called in question," in a manner which we surely did not provoke, and from a quarter where we could hardly have expected to meet with such severe, unhandsome treatment, is a fact which cannot be doubted by any one, who reads with attention those parts of Dr. Campbell's *Lectures on Ecclesiastical History*, which are particularly levelled against the Episcopacy of Scotland, and who at the same time is acquainted with the history of that Episcopacy for at least a century past, and knows how little foundation there was for such a violent and unexpected attack. From this consideration, perhaps it may be inferred, that the weapons of an adversary so incautiously aimed, might have been allowed to spend their force, and fall harmless to the ground. It may no doubt be thought a needless waste both of time and labour, to employ them in the refutation of arguments which, like all those that have ever been produced against Episcopacy in general, have been already so often refuted; or even to take so

* See the truly excellent charge delivered by Dr. Horsley, when Bishop of St. David's, to the clergy of his diocese, at his primary visitation in the year 1790.

much pains in defending our own Episcopacy in particular, from an attack, which has nothing but its novelty, and perhaps the character of its author to support it. With respect to the former, we have already said all that is necessary to show, how little strength there is in it. In regard to the latter, we could wish to say nothing; because we are well aware how much weight will be thought due to it.

Far be it from us to say any thing that could be supposed to detract from the personal worth, and purity of morals, which distinguished the character of Dr. Campbell. We know him to have been, in general, as his biographer justly describes him—"a man of a mild disposition, and even temper, and who was not much subject to passion." We recollect with pleasure the opinion delivered by him in favour of a repeal of the penal laws, which, in times of civil commotion, had been passed against the Scotch Episcopalians, as well as against those of the Roman catholic persuasion. And as far as we were concerned in the relief which was obtained from the severity of these statutes, all due acknowledgment was made, for the friendly part which Dr. Campbell had acted in recommending the measure, as reasonable in itself, and what, he thought, would be generally agreeable to the established church of Scotland. To express our gratitude on that occasion to him, and to every one else who had any hand in procuring for us the toleration which we now happily enjoy, was both our bounden duty, and our earnest desire; and we cannot charge ourselves with any neglect of what was so justly incumbent on us. Yet our spiritual character we must regard as of infinitely greater consequence, than any temporal indulgence which we can possibly meet with: And as it was Dr. Campbell's avowed opinion, that "true religion never flourished so much, nor spread so rapidly as when, instead of persecuting, it was persecuted, and instead of obtaining support from human sanctions, it had all the terrors of the ma-

gistrate, and the laws armed against it,"* we have some reason to suspect, that the removal of these terrors was considered as no great support to our cause, while room was left to beat it down from another quarter, and a proof of the invalidity of our clerical orders was thought to be a severer blow than any effect of fines and imprisonments. Relieved as we have been from the latter by the clemency of government, we must still feel the weight of the former, if not repelled by the force of those arguments, which the cause we have to maintain so plentifully affords: And should these be found to fail in producing the designed effect on every unprejudiced mind, it must be owing to the weakness with which they are urged, and not to any want of strength in the arguments themselves. One thing we wish to be constantly remembered, that this dormant controversy has not been revived on our part from any other motive than what has arisen from absolute necessity: And whatever has been said in the course of our reasoning against some of the positions laid down by Dr. Campbell, has been brought forward entirely in our own defence, and to assert our right to that firm ground, on which the belief of Episcopacy as a divine institution has hitherto rested with inviolable security.

Had our Professor's Theological Lectures been confined to the chair from which they were delivered, and reached no farther than the circle of his pupils, we should not have been obliged to take any notice even of that part of them which was directly intended to oppose the principles and pretensions of what he calls the "Scotch Episcopal party;" because, as an established Lecturer, he had a right to instruct his students as he thought proper, in the peculiar tenets of his own and their profession. But when these instructions were committed to the press, and published to

* See his "*Address* to the people of Scotland, on the alarms which had been raised by the bill in favour of the Roman Catholics."

the world, for the evident purpose of impressing on the public mind, not only a mean and unfavourable idea of the established form of church government in the other part of the kingdom, but a thorough contempt of what still remains of the ancient establishment of this country, we could not allow ourselves to be wholly silent on a subject, with which our best and dearest interests are so intimately connected, nor suffer the Episcopal church of Scotland to appear as without a friend in the day of her humiliation, complaining as it were, in the words of the prophet, "that there was none to take her by the hand, of all the sons that she had brought up."—If it shall be said, that the appearance we have now made in her defence would not have been attempted, had the person himself been alive, out of whose hands we have endeavoured to rescue her credit and character, it may be sufficient to answer, that if he had intended the attack to be make in such an open and public manner, he would have conducted it after a different form, and so as to have exhibited a more satisfying evidence of the truth of what has been said in his favour, "that he was uncommonly liberal to those who differed from him in religious opinions." If, indeed, he was so liberal to the infidel Hume, as "to expunge or soften every expression that either was severe, or was only supposed to be offensive,"* in his controversy with that sceptical philosopher, we might hope, that he would have been no less so to a society, or even "party," as he calls them, professing to be Christians, and avowing a sincere and uniform belief in all the great truths of divine revelation.† But if we must

* See the *Account of his Life and Writings*, prefixed to his Lectures, p. 16.

† We have already taken some distant notice of the favourable opinion which Dr. Campbell entertained of the sentiments professed by one of the most insidious and inveterate enemies of Christianity, and shall now produce a more direct proof of it, in the following letter written by our Professor to Mr. Strahan, the printer, and dated—June 25, 1776.

not presume to call in question the assurance given to the public, that these *Lectures on Ecclesiastical History* were transcribed, and revised, and prepared for the press by the author himself, we can only regret that we are obliged to rely on the truth of this information; and in that case may justly apply an observation which was made on a similar occasion, that "when an author charges his blunderbuss to be fired off by his executors, it looks as if he himself was afraid of the recoil."

We shall now take our leave of Dr. Campbell, with much concern for having been compelled to accompany him so long through that thorny field of controversy into which

"I have lately read over one of your last winter's publications with very great pleasure, and, I hope, some instruction. My expectations were indeed high when I began it; but I assure you, the entertainment I received, greatly exceeded them. What made me fall to it with the greater avidity was, that it had in part a pretty close connection with a subject I had occasion to treat sometimes in my theological lectures, to wit, the rise and progress of the hierarchy: And you will believe, that I was not the less pleased to discover, in an historian of so much learning and penetration, so great a coincidence with my own sentiments, in relation to some obscure points in the Christian antiquities. I suppose, I need not now inform you, that the book I mean is Gibbon's History of the Fall of the Roman Empire, which, in respect of the style and manner, as well as the matter, is a most masterly performance."—See *Miscellaneous Works of Edward Gibbon, Esq.* &c. published in 2 vols. quarto, by John Lord Sheffield, 1796. In this letter we cannot but observe the most unqualified approbation given to a work, which, even from what was then published of it, justified too well the remark that was afterwards made on the whole, that—"the author often *makes*, where he cannot readily *find*, an occasion to insult our religion; which he hates so cordially, that he might seem to revenge some personal injury." Yet a coincidence in sentiment, with respect to "some obscure points in the Christian antiquities," was sufficient to make our theological Lecturer applaud, in the most flattering terms, this avowed *hater* of Christianity. It was enough to secure every encomium which Dr. Campbell could bestow, that this impious scoffer at the worship and worshippers of Christ held the same opinions as those which the Doctor himself maintained, in relation to the "rise and progress" of, what they both join in making the constant butt of their raillery—the *hierarchy*.

we have been reluctantly dragged. Nothing could have induced us to enter on it but an imperious sense of duty, demanding every effort in our power to protect our ecclesiastical polity from the effects of that sharp and severe treatment which it has unfortunately experienced at the hands of one of the most distinguished of our countrymen. It is with pain that we reflect on a great part of the publication now before us, and hence unhappily feel a diminution of that respect which we would gladly have entertained for the memory of Dr. Campbell. He has, however, afforded us an opportunity of reviewing the grounds on which our principles have so long stood firm and unshaken, resisting all the force of irony and declamation, even when aided by the still more powerful influence of worldly interest. And having thus, as we think, fully established what was proposed as the subject of this chapter,—that a part of the holy, catholic and apostolic church of Christ, though deprived of the support of civil establishment, does still exist in this country under the name of the *Scotch Episcopal Church*, whose doctrine, discipline and worship have been happily found to agree with that of the first and purest ages of Christianity; it will now, we trust, be an easy matter to show that these ought to be steadily adhered to by all who profess to be of the Episcopal communion in this part of the kingdom; the showing which, in as plain, inoffensive, and concise terms as possible, will, in our humble opinion, form a very suitable conclusion to the design for which these persons have been addressed on the present occasion.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

THE following List of Consecrations, with their dates, and the names of the consecrators, as extracted from their ecclesiastical register, will give a clear and distinct view of the Episcopal succession in Scotland since the Revolution, as far as the present bishops are concerned.

January 25, 1705. Mr. JOHN SAGE, formerly one of the ministers of Glasgow, and Mr. JOHN FULLARTON, formerly minister of Paisley, were consecrated at Edinburgh by John Paterson, Archbishop of Glasgow, Alexander Rose, Bishop of Edinburgh, and Robert Douglas, Bishop of Dunblane.* *Bishop Sage died in June*, 1711.—*Bishop Fullarton* succeeded Bishop Rose, as Bishop of Edinburgh, in 1720, and *died in May*, 1727.

April 28, 1709. Mr. JOHN FALCONAR, minister at Cairnbee, and Mr. HENRY CHRISTIE, minister at Kinross, were consecrated at Dundee, by Bishop Rose, of Edinburgh, Bishop Douglas, of Dunblane, and Bishop Sage. *Bishop Christie died in* 1718, and *Bishop Falconar in* 1723.

August 25, 1711. The honourable ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL, who had been long in priest's orders, and resided mostly in London, was consecrated at Dundee, by Bishop

* Archbishop Paterson, Bishop Rose, and Bishop Douglas, with the other bishops of Scotland, were deprived at the Revolution by the civil power, because *Episcopacy* had been voted an *insupportable grievance* by the Scotch convention.

Rose of Edinburgh, Bishop Douglas of Dunblane, and Bishop Falconar. He was elected Bishop of Aberdeen in 1721, which charge he resigned in 1724—and *died June* 16, 1744.

February 24, 1712. Mr. JAMES GADDERAR, formerly minister at Kilmaurs, was consecrated at London by Bishop Hickes,* Bishop Falconar, and Bishop Campbell. He was appointed Bishop of Aberdeen in 1724, and *died in February*, 1733.

October 22, 1718. Mr. ARTHUR MILLAR, formerly minister at Inveresk, and Mr. WILLIAM IRVINE, formerly minister at Kirkmichael, in Carrick, were consecrated at Edinburgh, by Bishop Rose of Edinburgh, Bishop Fullarton, and Bishop Falconar. *Bishop Irvine died November* 9, 1725. Bishop Millar succeeded Bishop Fullarton, as Bishop of Edinburgh, and *Primus*,† and *died October* 9, 1727.

After the death of Bishop Rose of Edinburgh, which happened March 20, 1720,

October 17, 1722. Mr. ANDREW CANT, formerly one of the ministers of Edinburgh, and Mr. DAVID FREEBAIRN, formerly minister of Dunning, were consecrated at Edinburgh, by Bishop Fullarton, *Primus*, Bishop Millar, and

* Dr. George Hickes, formerly dean of Worcester, was consecrated in the Bishop of Peterborough's chapel, in the parish of Enfield, February 23d, 1693, by Dr. William Lloyd, Bishop of Norwich, Dr. Francis Turner, Bishop of Ely, and Dr. Thomas White, Bishop of Peterborough. Dr. Lloyd, Dr. Turner, and Dr. White, were three of the English bishops who were deprived, at the Revolution, by the civil power, for not swearing allegiance to William III. They were also three of the seven bishops who had been sent to the Tower by James II. for refusing to order an illegal proclamation to be read in their dioceses.

† Anciently no bishop in Scotland had the title of *Archbishop*, but one of them had a precedency, under the title of *Primus Scotiæ Episcopus*. In consequence of the revolution, after the death of Bishop Rose of Edinburgh, the Scotch bishops reassumed the old form, one of them being elected *Primus*, with power of convocating and presiding, according to their canons made in 1743.

Bishop Irvine. *Bishop Cant died in* 1721. Bishop Freebairn was elected *Primus* in 1731, afterwards Bishop of Edinburgh, and *died in* 1739.

June 4, 1727. Dr. THOMAS RATTRAY, of Craighall, was consecrated at Edinburgh by Bishop Gadderar, Bishop Millar, and Bishop Cant. He was appointed Bishop of Dunkeld, succeeded Bishop Freebairn as *Primus*, and *died May* 12, 1743.

June 18, 1727. Mr. WILLIAM DUNBAR, formerly minister* at Cruden, and Mr. ROBERT KEITH, presbyter in Edinburgh, were consecrated at Edinburgh, by Bishop Gadderar, Bishop Millar, and Bishop Rattray. Bishop Dunbar was first appointed Bishop of Moray, and afterwards of Aberdeen, on the death of Bishop Gadderar in 1733. *He died in* 1746. Bishop Keith was first appointed Bishop of Caithness, afterwards of Fife. He was elected *Primus* after the death of Bishop Rattray, and *died in January*, 1756.

June 24, 1735. Mr. ROBERT WHITE, presbyter at Cupar in Fife, was consecrated at Carsebank, near Forfar, by Bishop Rattray, Bishop Dunbar, and Bishop Keith.—He was appointed Bishop of Dunblane, succeeded Bishop Keith as *Primus*, and *died in August*, 1761.

September 10, 1741. Mr. WILLIAM FALCONAR, presbyter at Forres, was consecrated at Alloa, by Bishop Rattray, *Primus*, Bishop Keith, and Bishop White. He was first appointed Bishop of Caithness, afterwards of Moray; succeeded Bishop White as *Primus*, and *died in* 1784.

October 4, 1742. Mr. JAMES RAIT, presbyter at Dundee, was consecrated at Edinburgh by Bishop Rattray, *Primus*, Bishop Keith, and Bishop White. He was appointed Bishop of Brechin, and *died in* 1777.

* Those clergymen, who, in consequence of the Revolution, were deprived of their parishes, are in this list called *ministers:* And those who had not been parish-ministers, under the civil establishment, are called *presbyters.*

August 19, 1743. Mr. JOHN ALEXANDER, presbyter at Alloa, was consecrated at Edinburgh by Bishop Keith, *Primus*, Bishop White, Bishop Falconar, and Bishop Rait. He was appointed Bishop of Dunkeld, and *died in* 1776.

July 17, 1747. Mr. ANDREW GERARD, presbyter in Aberdeen, was consecrated at Cupar, in Fife, by Bishop White (having commission from Bishop Keith, the *Primus*, for that effect), Bishop Falconar, Bishop Rait, and Bishop Alexander. He was appointed Bishop of Aberdeen, and *died in October*, 1767.

June 24, 1762. Mr. ROBERT FORBES, presbyter in Leith, was consecrated at Forfar by Bishop Falconar, *Primus*, Bishop Alexander, and Bishop Gerard. He was appointed Bishop of Ross and Caithness, and *died in* 1776.

September 21, 1768. Mr. ROBERT KILGOUR, presbyter in Peterhead, was consecrated at Cupar, in Fife, by Bishop Falconar, *Primus*, Bishop Rait, and Bishop Alexander. He was appointed Bishop of Aberdeen, succeeded Bishop Falconar as *Primus*, in 1784, and *died March* 22, 1790.

August 24, 1774. Mr. CHARLES ROSE, presbyter at Down, was consecrated at Forfar, by Bishop Falconar, *Primus*, Bishop Rait, and Bishop Forbes. He was first appointed Bishop of Dunblane, afterwards of Dunkeld, and *died in April*, 1791.

June 27, 1776. Mr. ARTHUR PETRIE, presbyter at Micklefolla, in Fyvie, was consecrated at Dundee, by Bishop Falconar, *Primus*, Bishop Rait, Bishop Kilgour, and Bishop Rose. He was first appointed co-adjutor to Bishop Falconar, whom he afterwards succeeded as Bishop of Moray, and *died April* 19, 1787.

September 25, 1782. Mr. JOHN SKINNER, presbyter in Aberdeen, was consecrated in the chapel at Luthermuir, by Bishop Kilgour, *Primus*, Bishop Rose and Bishop Petrie. He was appointed coadjutor to Bishop Kilgour, on whose resignation he succeeded to the charge of the diocese of

Aberdeen, in October, 1786, and was elected *Primus* in December, 1788.

March 7, 1787. Mr. ANDREW MACFARLANE, presbyter in Inverness, was consecrated at Peterhead, by Bishop Kilgour, *Primus*, Bishop Petrie, and Bishop Skinner. He was appointed coadjutor to Bishop Petrie, whom he succeeded soon after, as Bishop of Ross and Moray.

September 26, 1787. Dr. WILLIAM ABERNETHY DRUMMOND, one of the presbyters of Edinburgh, and Mr. JOHN STRACHAN, presbyter in Dundee, were consecrated at Peterhead, by Bishop Kilgour, *Primus*, Bishop Skinner, and Bishop Macfarlane. Bishop Abernethy Drummond was first appointed Bishop of Brechin, and afterwards of Edinburgh, which having also resigned, he is now Bishop of Glasgow. Bishop Strachan succeeded him as Bishop of Brechin.

September 20, 1792. Mr. JONATHAN WATSON, presbyter at Laurence-kirk, was consecrated at Stonehaven, by Bishop Skinner, *Primus*, Bishop Macfarlane, Bishop Abernethy Drummond, and Bishop Strachan. He was appointed Bishop of Dunkeld, that diocese being vacant by the death of Bishop Rose.

June 24, 1796. Mr. ALEXANDER JOLLY, presbyter at Fraserburgh, was consecrated at Dundee, by Bishop Abernethy Drummond, Bishop Macfarlane, and Bishop Strachan. He was appointed coadjutor to Bishop Macfarlane, on whose resignation he succeeded soon after to the charge of the diocese of Moray.*

Though the districts into which the Scotch bishops have divided their church are not exactly according to the limits of the dioceses under the legal establishment of Episcopacy, yet they still retain the names, by which they were

* A few more presbyters have been consecrated bishops in Scotland since the revolution; but as they had no hand in carrying on the Episcopal succession, it was thought unnecessary, in making out this list, to mention their consecrations.

of old distinguished, with the exception of Fife, instead of St. Andrews. Every diocesan bishop has his distinct charge, and without assuming any other local jurisdiction than what was acknowledged in the primitive church for the first three centuries, may as properly be denominated bishop of the place or charge assigned to him, as St. James has always been called Bishop of Jerusalem, Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch, or Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage. On this footing the Episcopal college in Scotland consists at present of the following members.

Mr. JOHN SKINNER, Bishop of *Aberdeen*, and *Primus*.
Mr. ANDREW MACFARLANE, Bishop of *Ross*.
Dr. ABERNETHY DRUMMOND, Bishop of *Glasgow*.
Mr. JOHN STACHAN, Bishop of *Brechin*.
Mr. JONATHAN WATSON, Bishop of *Dunkeld*.
Mr. ALEXANDER JOLLY, Bishop of *Moray*.

No. II.

THE Letters of Consecration granted to Bishop Sage in 1705, and referred to in page 292 of this work, are thus expressed:

"Apud Edinburgum, die vicesimo quinto mensis Januarii, anno ab incarnato Domino, et Servatore nostro, millesimo, septingentesimo quinto.

NOS—Joannes, providentia divina, Archiepiscopus Glascuensis, Alexander, miseratione divina, Episcopus Edinburgensis, et Robertus, miseratione divina, Episcopus Dunblanensis, in timore Domini ponderantes plerosque fratrum nostrorum carissimorum, et in collegio Episcopali collegarum (hoc nupere elapso, et ecclesiæ nostræ luctuoso curriculo) in Domino obdormiisse, nosque perpaucos qui divina misericordia superstites sumus, multiplicibus curis,

morbis, atque ingravescente senio tantum non confectos esse: Quapropter ex eo quod Deo supremo, Servatori nostro, sacrosanctæ ejus ecclesiæ, et posteris debemus, in animum induximus, officium, caracterem, et facultatem Episcopalem, aliis probis, fidelibus, ad docendum et regendum idoneis hominibus committere; inter quos quum nobis ex propria scientia constet, reverendum nostrum fratrem Joannem Sage, artium magistrum, et presbyterum Glascuensum tanto muneri, aptum et idoneum esse; nos igitur divini numinis præsidio freti, secundum gratiam nobis concessam, die, mense, anno suprascriptis, in sacrario Domus archiepiscopi Glascuensis, supradictum Joannem Sage, ordinavimus, consecravimus, et in nostrum Episcopale collegium co-optavimus. In cujus rei testimonium, Sigilla Joannis Archiepiscopi Glascuensis, et Alexandri Episcopi Edinburgensis, (sedis Sancti Andreæ nunc vacantis vicarii) huic instrumento (chirographis nostris prius munito) appendi mandavimus.

Jo. Glascuen.
Sic subscrib. Alexr. Edinburgen.
Ro. Dunblanen.

(Loc. Sigil. Episcop. Edinb.) (Loc. Sigil. Archiepis. Glas.)

In some of the subsequent deeds or instruments of consecration, we find a still more direct reference to the preservation of the Episcopal succession. They are expressed in the following terms:

NOS—&c.——Afflictissimæ hujus, cui nos Deus præposuit, ecclesiæ Scoticanæ concordiæ, paci, unitati atque ordini qua licet et quantum in tantis et talibus angustiis possumus consulentes, dilectissimo in Christo fratri ——— presbytero, et pastore de ——, quem hodie in collegium nostrum Episcopale consecrando co-optavimus, ejusdem ecclesiæ Scoticanæ portionem, quæ in provincia ceu

ditione —— Deo militat, specialem commendamus, ejusque curæ Episcopali, usque quo clementior Deus ecclesiæ suæ, sui Christi sponsæ in hoc terrarum angulo—heu quantum laboranti! benignius prospexerit: Hoc etiam unum ardentissimis adjicientes votis, ut in Domino confisus, nullisque persecutionum procellis territus, prædictus frater, ne quando summus simul et sacerrimus orthodoxorum Episcoporum ordo per legitimam ordinationum successionem continuatus deficiat, ceu disperdatur, solicitus advigilet. Datum, &c. ——

No. III.

ARTICLES OF UNION

Proposed by the Right Reverend the BISHOPS *of the* SCOTCH EPISCOPAL CHURCH, *to those Clergymen who officiate in Scotland by virtue of Ordination from an English or an Irish Bishop.*

AS an union of all those who profess to be of the Episcopal persuasion in Scotland, appears to be a measure extremely desirable, and calculated to promote the interests of true religion;—The Right Reverend the Bishops of the Scotch Episcopal Church do invite and exhort all those clergymen in Scotland who have received ordination from English or Irish bishops, and the people attending their ministrations, to become pastors and members of that pure and primitive part of the Christian church, of which the bishops in Scotland are the regular governors:—With a view to the attainment of which desirable end, the said bishops propose the following Articles of Union, as the conditions on which they are ready to receive the abovementioned clergy into a holy and Christian fellowship, and to acknowledge them as pastors, and the people who shall

be committed to their charge, and duly and regularly adhere to their ministrations, as members of the Scotch Episcopal Church.

I. Every such clergyman shall exhibit to the bishop of the diocese, or district in which he is settled, or, in case of a vacancy, to the primus of the Episcopal college, his letters of orders, or a duly attested copy thereof, that so, their authenticity and validity being ascertained, they may be entered in the diocesan book, or register kept for that purpose.

II. Every such clergyman shall declare his hearty and unfeigned assent to the whole doctrine of the gospel, as revealed and set forth in the holy scriptures;—and shall farther acknowledge, that the Scotch Episcopal Church, of which the bishops in Scotland are the regular governors, is a pure and orthodox part of the universal Christian Church.

III. Every such clergyman shall be at liberty to use, in his own congregation, the liturgy of the Church of England, as well in the administration of the sacrament of the Lord's supper, as in all the other offices of the church.

IV. Every such clergyman, when collated to any pastoral charge, shall promise, with God's assistance, faithfully and conscientiously to perform the duties thereof, promoting and maintaining, according to his power, peace, quietness, and Christian charity, and studying in a particular manner to advance, by his example and doctrine, the spiritual welfare and comfort of that portion of the flock of Christ, among which he is called to exercise his ministry.

V. Every such clergyman shall own and acknowledge, as his spiritual governor under Christ, the bishop of the diocese or district in which he is settled, and shall pay and perform to the said bishop, all such canonical obedience as is usually paid by the clergy of the Scotch Episcopal Church, or by the clergy of the United Church of England and Ireland, to their respective diocesans; saving and excepting only such obedience as those clergymen, who do or may hold spiritual preferment in England or Ireland, owe

to the bishops, in whose dioceses, in those parts of the united kingdom, they do or may hold such preferment.

VI. Every such clergyman, who shall approve and accept of the foregoing articles, as terms of agreement and union with the Scotch Episcopal Church, shall testify his approbation and acceptance of the same in manner following, viz.

"At ——, the —— day of ——, I ——, ordained deacon by the lord bishop of ——, and priest by the lord bishop of ——, do hereby testify and declare my entire approbation and acceptance of the foregoing articles, as terms of union with the Scotch Episcopal Church, and oblige myself to comply with, and fulfil the same with all sincerity and diligence. In testimony whereof, I have written and subscribed this my acceptance and obligation, to be delivered into the hands of the Right Rev. ——, bishop of ——, as my diocesan and ecclesiastical superior, before these witnesses, the Rev. ——, and the Rev. ——, both clergymen of the said diocese, specially called for that purpose."

[*The readers of this work will doubtless be gratified with the following extract from the review of it, contained in the Anti-Jacobin Magazine. This extract exhibits a reply to Dr. Campbell's commentary on the words of Ignatius*—" There is but one altar, as there is but one bishop,"*—*more satisfactory than that advanced by Bishop Skinner.*]

DR. Campbell takes it for granted, that his Episcopal antagonists consider the unity in the second clause of Ignatius's words as the numerical or physical unity of the bishop's person; and, consequently, that they represent the venerable martyr as arguing thus: " All the altars of a diocese must be one, because the bishop is but one person." Ignatius, however, neither argues, nor is supposed by the advocates of Episcopacy to argue, in this foolish and senseless manner. His reasoning is perfectly sound, although Dr. Campbell has either happened, or chosen, to misunderstand it. The unity intended in both clauses of the sentence is of the same kind; and in neither of them is it numerical. In both it is an unity, not in respect of *individual existence*, but in respect of *authority*, *power*, and *effect*. All the altars of a diocese, however numerous in respect of place, are *one;* because the same (not numerically) eucharistical service is, with the same spiritual benefit to the partakers, performed at all of them by the *one authority of Christ*, derived to them through the bishop; and the bishop is *one*, because, with respect to his own diocese, he is the original depositary of this *one authority*. Nor is this mode of phraseology confined to ecclesiastical subjects; but, on the contrary, perfectly common. We say that there is but *one executive power* in the kingdom; because,

* Εν θυσιαστηριον ως εις επισκοπος.

although the individuals employed in the execution of the laws are almost innumerable, yet they all derive their authority from the *one authority of the king*, who, in this country, is the sole fountain of power. We say that the act or deed of any one justice of the peace is *the same* as that of any other; not because it is *numerically* the same, but because it is of the same validity. We say that their authority is *the same*, because, in all of them it is the king's authority. In like manner we say, that every altar in the diocese is the same with every other; not because they are numerically the same, but because they are all erected by the one authority of the bishop; and because, of consequence, the eucharist received at one has the same effect as when received at another.

It is true, indeed, that, in the case of both the king and of the bishop, this one authority happens to be lodged in one numerical individual person. But this is a circumstance on which the propriety of the above-mentioned modes of speech in no degree depends; and which, therefore, as far as our argument is concerned, is merely accidental. If we find it difficult to abstract the idea of the one authority of the king or of the bishop, from the individuality of the persons invested with it, the difficulty is wholly owing to the power of early and habitually confirmed association; for the things themselves may, certainly, be separated, not in idea only, but in fact. The Roman consuls, though numerically two, were possessed but of one supreme authority; and when that authority was, occasionally, lodged, whether in one dictator, or in ten military tribunes, it was but one authority still. So if it had pleased our blessed Saviour, or his apostles acting under his direction, to constitute bishops, in all districts, by pairs, such a constitution of the church would have made no alteration in the force of St. Ignatius's argument. For then, the bishops, who, in respect of personality, were

two, would, in respect of spiritual authority and power, have been but one.

We repeat, therefore, that the quibble which Dr. Campbell finds in the words of Ignatius, as explained by that Father's Episcopal commentators, is all his own; and we strongly suspect that, by a dialectician of his eminent acuteness, it would never have been found, if the weakness of his argument had not stood in need of even this very feeble support. For no man knew better than Dr. Campbell, that, in all nations and languages, things are viewed and spoken of as, in some respects, *one*, which, in other respects, are exceedingly *different;* and that physical, or numerical unity is, in fact, but one of innumerable kinds, which are hourly conceived by the human mind, and hourly expressed in human speech. But Dr. Campbell's conclusion that "the bishop's cure was originally confined to a single church or congregation," required that the words ἓν θυσιαστηριον should signify one individual "communion table or altar;" and this signification of them, he thinks, is sufficiently secured by supposing εἰς ἐπισκοπος to mean the individuality of the bishop's person: for otherwise Ignatius would be guilty of a quibble. We wonder, indeed, that the very words which he quotes from Dr. Burn's Ecclesiastical Law did not show Dr. Campbell the danger of building on such unfirm ground. "The cathedral church," says that accurate writer, "is the parish church of the whole diocese." The bishop, of course, and strictly speaking, is the pastor of the whole diocese. Every altar in it is, therefore, his altar. If we wished to speak with particular correctness, we might say that it is a representative of his altar, meaning the altar of the cathedral church. Or if we choose to adopt a figurative phraseology, we may employ a language exactly analagous to that of the customs, (which calls such a sea-port a branch of the port of London) and say that every altar in the diocese is a *branch* of the bishop's altar.

A REVIEW

OF

HAWEIS' CHURCH HISTORY,

IN WHICH

THE ERRORS AND MISREPRESENTATIONS OF THAT WORK

ARE DETECTED AND EXPOSED.

EXTRACTED FROM THE ANTI-JACOBIN REVIEW.

REVIEW

OF

HAWEIS' CHURCH HISTORY.

IT was reserved, for our author to publish a *history* of the church, for the express purpose of proving that the Church of England, in which he enjoys a rich rectory, has deviated essentially from the original church of Christ in doctrine, in government, and in worship; that *prelacy* is an *usurpation*, and *patronage* contrary to the principles of the gospel; that it is the duty of the people, when the regular clergy preach unsound doctrine, of which the most illiterate clown is a competent judge, to withdraw themselves from the church, which, in consequence, becomes *schismatical;* that all establishments of one church in preference to another, are the offspring of a corrupt policy; that the alliance between church and state has ever been *meretricious;* and that to contend for the unity of the church in any thing more than a few articles of faith, of difficult comprehension, is to be guilty of a sin enormous as that of blasphemy.

Should any of our readers be disposed to waste his time in attempting to conceive by what means an ecclesiastical historian reconciles such opinions to the concurring testimony of the *fathers* of the church, we beg leave to assure him, that Dr. Haweis employs no means for so vain a purpose. He is perfectly aware that his book and the writings of the fathers can never be reconciled; but he must consider this as a matter of no importance, since he represents almost all the Catholic writers for the first four centuries as either so very weak or so very wicked as to be unworthy of the smallest credit.

He admits, indeed, that there was something respectable in the character of Augustin, bishop of Hippo, and more in that of Athanasius; but he characterizes *Clemens* of Rome, *Ignatius* of Antioch, and *Polycarp* of Smyrna, as very mean writers.

"*Justin* the martyr, *Origen*, *Tertullian*, *Pantænus*, and many others, zealous indeed in apologies for the Christian cause, and ready to die rather than renounce their profession, yet held a Christianity of so equivocal a nature, as to render it very dubious whether they had any real part or lot in the matter." What extravagant enthusiasts they must have been! Ireneus, though he combated *all* the heresies then subsisting in the church, yet suffered "his philosophic opinions to mingle with, and *debase the Christian purity*;" and, of course, was a heretic himself!

"Tertullian is a striking instance, how much wisdom and weakness, learning and ignorance, faith and folly, truth and error, goodness and delusion, may be mixed up in the composition of the same person! Though Tertullian himself affords but a *very wretched specimen of Christianity*, his *apology demonstrates*, that in *all the great and glorious features* of this divine religion, there was a people in that day *eminently* to the praise of the *glory of God's grace!*" We really should have thought that the *author* of an apology which *demonstrates this*, must afford a *tolerable* specimen of Christianity!

Of *Gregory Thaumaturgus*, so highly praised by Cave, and others, our *impartial* and *charitable* historian says:—"I must be exceedingly hard drove for a Christian, before I can put such men as Gregory Thaumaturgus into the number!" What though *St. Basil** compares Gregory to the prophets and apostles, affirming that he was actuated by the same spirit with them, trod in their footsteps, and his conversation in the gospel during the whole course of his

* De Spiritu Sancto. c. 29.

life, from the day of his conversion to the day of his death? Basil was denominated the *Great;* and "the title *great*," says our author, when speaking of Constantine, "as far as my observation reaches, usually marks the most destructive, the most tyrannical, and the most murderous of mankind."

The learning and genius of *Origen* furnish great cause of offence to Dr. Haweis, who professes indeed no respect for learning in any Christian divine antient or modern. Origen, it is true, maintained many errors; but our author is the first ecclesiastical historian, whom we have met with, that did not acknowledge his obligations to the learned labours of the presbyter of Alexandria. In this he is, however, consistent; for such an acknowledgment in behalf of Origen could not reasonably be expected from that man, who boldly pronounces the labour of *Connybeare*, and *Warburton*, and *Watson* in defence of revelation, *useless;* and who, noticeing "their elaborate defences of Christianity, and apologies for the Bible," adds, "did these ever convince one infidel, or make him a real convert to gospel truth? I trow not!"

In many things our author admits Cyprian to have been worthy, and to have merited all the praise he receives; but in his office he manifested the pride of a too unhumbled heart (Is the heart of his censurer humbled?); his episcopal ideas appear too elevated; he was a *visionary;* his assertion that there is only one episcopacy (Episcopatus unus est, cujus e singulis in solidum pars tenetur) "is unscriptural;" though the martyr builds it on a text by St. Paul,* which obviously admits of no other meaning. No matter; St. Cyprian is pleading for "the unity of an *outward church*, which, in the eyes of a *spiritually minded* man, must be contemptible;" and, therefore, our spiritually minded historian thinks himself authorized to quote the tract, *De unitate Ecclesiæ*, partially and unfairly! Nay, he thinks himself authorized to affirm, that "the strong lines of popery,

* Eph. iv. 4, 5, 6, &c.

and a visible head of the Catholic church, whose anathemas were to hurl into the dust every opposer to *prelatical pride*, had now begun to make considerable strides, and that no man hitherto had more contributed to this than Cyprian!" Yet he must know, if he knows any thing of antiquity, that Cyprian, in his letters to Stephen, bishop of Rome, chastises the insolence of that prelate, and contends with earnestness and great strength of reasoning for an absolute equality among bishops! To belie the records of antiquity, is a very singular proof of the impartiality of an historian; but what could be expected from the man who, while he affirms that, in the age of Cyprian, "strong lines of popery, and a visible head of the church had begun to make considerable strides," *suspects* that in the very same age, "the name of bishop and presbyter was still synonimous!" and confounds Cyprian with certain bishops sent by him and the African synod, to converse with Stephen on heretical baptism! To be impartial, a man must be accurate as well as honest.

Of Constantine the Great, our author thus writes: "The bounties he bestowed; the zeal he displayed; his liberal patronage of episcopal *men*;" (Are there any episcopal *women* in the conventicles of Lady Huntingdon?) "the pomp he introduced into worship; and the power invested with general councils," (What kind of power was this?) "made the church appear great and splendid; but I discover not a trace in Constantine of the religion of the Son of God. (You are a discerner of spirits!) As an *outward* professor, and for an *outward church*, no man more open, more zealous: as a partaker of the grace of God in truth, either in *genuine repentance* for his crimes, or *real newness of life*," (Pray, what is the distinction between these?) "I want abundantly better evidence than I can see in Eusebius, who, like many a *courtly bishop*, is very cordially disposed to exalt on a pedestal, the king that patronizes and increases their power, wealth, and dignity!"

To Eusebius, the celebrated historian, our *spiritually-minded* man allows no merit. "He was a great favourite at court. *No good sign for a bishop*, under two such monarchs as Constantine and Constantius. Whether he thought in all things as Arius, or not, it *is certain* he supported him and his adherents. He, with his namesake of Nicomedia, were the *pillars of the Arian heresy!* Eusebius is a miserable voucher; and under all the prejudices and credulity that are so visibly marked in him, *I am cordially thankful for the more credible testimony of heathen* MEN." (Why not of heathen women?) "I fear he knew as little of *real Christianity* as his royal (imperial) disciple Constantine, whom he so egregiously flatters. The more I read, the more I doubt the authenticity of his testimony, and dare not receive his history as oracular!"

St. Ambrose of Milan is no greater a favourite of our author than Eusebius. He was pious, but superstitious; and "the piety of superstition is awfully equivocal. How high the spirit of true godliness was in the church of Milan, I must learn from something besides their church music and the Ambrosian chaunt. His discipline respecting Theodosius, is a glaring proof of *prelatical insolence* over abject superstition, and all done for the honour of the church." (Eusebius is censured for being *courtly*, and Ambrose for *not* being courtly!) "The divinity of Ambrose is wretched, and often unscriptural; and his moral treatises insignificant. Of the doctrines of *predestination* and *grace*, he appears to have very false conceptions:" *i. e.* he was no Augustinian, or what in modern language is called a *Calvinist!*

Not one of the fathers before Augustin taught the peculiar doctrines of Calvin; and hence our historian repeatedly says of them *all*, that "they are but miserable guides to evangelical truth!" Even of the far-famed bishop of Hippo himself, he says, that there is more deep reasoning, solid argument, precision of language, and *scriptural evidence*, in one page of Edwards on Free Will, than in all

the voluminous works of Augustin put together ;" though it is obvious to every man acquainted with the subject, that Edwards reasons as a *philosophical necessarian*, of the same school with Hobbes and Priestley, and not as a predestinarian of the school of Calvin!

It cannot, however, excite great surprize, that Augustin, and the rest of the fathers, should be considered as insufficient guides to evangelical truth by him who considers St. Paul himself as hardly evangelical. " In compliance with James's recommendation, he was fulfilling a part of the Mosaic ritual, respecting vows, in order to show that he continued to observe the law. Whether he owed it such a compliance, I have ever doubted ; this and his circumcising Timothy have appeared to me temporising. But Paul probably is right, and I am wrong." Yes, Sir, we think this *probable!*

As the testimony of the fathers is necessary to establish the authenticity of the books of scripture, it may possibly occur to some of our readers, to ask whether Dr. Haweis, who has poured upon them greater abuse than Gibbon, be a Christian. The question is not unreasonable, and deserves an answer, which it is proper that the author himself be permitted to give.

" Having through divine mercy (says he) obtained grace to be faithful—in *providence* received my education—and been called to minister in the Church of England, I have embraced and subscribed her articles, *ex animo*, and have continued to prefer an episcopal mode of government ; and I am *content herein to abide with God*, till I can find one more purely apostolic."

We are not certain that we understand the author where he says that he received his education *in providence*. All men of every religion, and every nation, have been educated under the superintending providence of the Governor of the universe ; and therefore on that account Dr. Haweis can claim nothing peculiar to himself. But if it be his

meaning that he received his education in the *town of Providence*, in Rhode-Island, we cannot be much surprized at the contempt which he professes for the writings of the fathers, for in North-America those writings are very little studied. This circumstance may likewise account for the following strange language of "the *faithful man* who is *content to abide with God* in a church under episcopal government."

"When I speak of episcopacy, as most correspondent in my poor ideas, to the apostolic practice, and the general usage of the church in the first, and *generally esteemed* purer ages, let no man imagine I plead for that episcopacy, which, *rising on the stilts of prelatical pride*, and worldly-mindedness, has since *overspread the earth with its baneful shadow;* or suppose those to be the true successors of the apostles, who, grasping at *power and pre-eminence* over churches, which their labours never planted nor watered, claim dominion over districts, provinces, kingdoms beyond all power of *individual* superintendance. These *all*, *every where*, and in *every age*, have manifested the same spirit of *antichrist;* and that just in proportion as their usurpation of authority over the churches, and the consciences of men, hath been most extensive, most exclusive, and most intolerant."

That the church of England is intolerant will not surely be supposed, since she permits one of her sons to publish such libels as this; but that her bishops claim dominion over *districts*, and her archbishops pre-eminence over *provinces*, are facts which cannot be controverted. In the opinion of Dr. Haweis, therefore, she manifests the spirit of antichrist; and it is not wonderful that "a man who has obtained grace to be faithful, should consider it as condescension to abide, in such a society, even with God!"

But still it may be asked, upon whose testimony our author builds this *impartial* history, after thus rejecting in a lump the testimony of the early writers of the Catholic

church? Why, to the testimony of *heathen men*, for which we have seen him so piously grateful, he adds that of *schismatics*, *heretics*, and *apostates!* Though Ignatius, as a writer, appears to him, "low in the scale of excellence, because he advances many degrees above Clemens in *episcopal authority*;" though Cyprian is a *blasphemer*, because "his episcopal ideas appear too elevated, and he says that there ought to be but one bishop in a Catholic church;* and though Eusebius is accused of "partiality, credulity, and unfair representations," yet the *Novetians*, *Donatists*, *Meletians*, and *Luciferians*, are entitled to the fullest credit; whilst Julian the apostate is styled almost "as good a Christian as bishop Warburton, and a much better man."†

The Catholic writers consider the ordination of the clergy as a matter of much importance, in which indeed they are joined by the Novetians, Donatists, Luciferians, and all the sectaries of those early periods; but they contend likewise for the *unity* of the church, not only in doctrine, but also in government and discipline; and this our impartial historian condemns as an intolerable error. He seems indeed to look upon ordination as far from essential, though he admits it to be a harmless ceremony when not employed to exalt the dignity of the *prelatical tribe;* but "the preservation of the unity of an *outward church*, in the eyes of a spiritually-minded man, must be *contemptible*, compared with the holding the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace, and loving one another out of a pure heart fervently." Nay, "the unhappy idea of the *unity of the*

* Our author chooses to quote him (p. 244) as saying that there ought to be but one bishop in *the* Catholic church; but the quotation is false.

† We are far from approving of all the paradoxes advanced in *the divine legation of Moses;* but we believe that Dr. Haweis is the only author calling himself a Christian, who has *censured* either the object or the execution of the "discourse concerning the earthquake and fiery eruption which defeated Julian's attempt to rebuild the temple of Jerusalem." He prefers, however, Basnage's account of the matter, because Basnage was a Walloon pastor, and Warburton an English bishop.

church under a particular mode of government, produced the plenteous tares of controversy, and the abhorred mutual excommunications of men, whose duty it was to love one another out of a pure heart fervently;" and it seems to be because the Novetians and Donatists rent the church, that they are such favourites of this worthy priest of the church of England!

Though he admits that in "the dispute about the lapsed, Cyprian's plan is more scriptural than Novetian's," he yet says expressly—"When I hear Cyprian anathematizing such a man, I would rather be under the curses with Novetian, than utter them with Cyprian. I forbear to quote the high expressions, to me bordering on impiety,* with which he honours the episcopal order, and from whence he derives the claims of obedience. This seems the great blot in his escutcheon, and the cause of all the indefensible severity with which he treated those who presumed to differ from him."

It is not merely from the pleasure which our author takes in reprobating a learned clergy, and in reviling the fathers of the church, that he expresses himself in this manner: it is to serve a purpose still nearer his heart. Mr. Milner having, in his church history, compared the sectaries of the present day to the disorderly Corinthians in the days of the apostles, Dr. Haweis says—"I am astonished, that a man of his Christian knowledge and experience can see any similitude between a multitude of *gracious souls* withdrawing from *false teachers*, and pastors who walk disorderly, working not at all, and forming real churches under faithful labourers of their *own choice*, and proud and wicked Corinthians! Do men withdraw from *godly pastors?* For

* To forbear quoting the expressions on which a charge of impiety is founded against a Christian bishop, who laid down his life for the truth, was extremely unjust; but it was certainly prudent, because there is not in the whole writings of Cyprian a single expression which will admit of an impious construction.

one of their description in the present day, who can be *blamed* for so doing; ten thousand withdraw from their *parochial* or *heretical* teachers, on the surest grounds of Christian obligation. The crime and the schism *is* [are] with those who cause *it* [them] by their unscriptural teaching and conduct, not with those who come out from among them, and separate!"

Such is the substance of the first volume of this *impartial* history, comprehending the first four centuries of the Christian church. Of the author's "inquiries after God's secret ones, the remnant whom the world knoweth not, the chosen, and called, and faithful," we have taken no notice; because such inquiries, by whomsoever made, must, of necessity, prove fruitless.

Though that part of the volume, of which *men* can judge, appears to us one tissue of errors flowing from the combined sources of prejudice, pride, and ignorance; we shall yet attempt no formal confutation of it, because what is not supported by argument, cannot by argument be overturned. Our author rests his cause on "his own poor opinion," as he very properly calls it; and we trust that our opinion, though poor likewise, is yet sufficient to balance his. We beg leave, however, to conclude this article with a few observations on *ordination*, the character of *St. Cyprian*, the veracity of *Eusebius*, and the utility of the *writings of the Fathers* in general; because we think it of great importance to the peace of the church, that the people at large, but more especially the younger clergy, be on these subjects furnished with correct notions, which they certainly will not receive from the volume under review.

Among the errors established by the Council of Trent, our reformers considered the Romish doctrine concerning the Christian sacrament. A sacrament was, by that council, declared to be "an outward sensible action, or sacred sign, *ordained by Jesus Christ*, as a sure and certain means to bring grace to our souls. To make a true sacrament, three

things were decreed to be requisite: 1. That there be some *outward sensible* action performed; 2. That this be a certain means to bring grace to the soul; and, 3. That Jesus Christ be the author of it. The outward action was likewise said to consist in something spoken and something done; the thing done being called the *matter* of the sacrament, and the words spoken, the *form* of it."*

These definitions were adopted by the generality of protestant churches; but the English reformers holding it essential to a sacrament, that the outward sensible action or sacred sign was ordained by Christ *himself* while he sojourned on earth, rejected, of course, five of the seven sacraments of the church of Rome; because it is obvious to every reader of the gospels, that *baptism* and the *Lord's supper* are the *only* sacraments, of which the sacred sign, including what is here called the *matter* and the *form*, was instituted by Christ in *person*. Whether it would not have been better, with the Greek Church, to denominate baptism and the Lord's supper the *mysteries of Christ*, which seems to be scripture language, and to have allowed the name of *sacraments* to be extended to other Christian institutions, which certainly involve in them the obligation of an oath, we shall not now inquire. It is sufficient to observe, that the reformers of our church unquestionably considered the ordination of ministers, and the right of confirmation, as institutions of Christ, though the sensible action or sacred sign employed in each was not instituted till after his ascent into heaven.

The consequence is, that these rites have, by every true son of the Church of England, been at all times considered as of the highest importance, as ordinances indeed of Christ

* We have transcribed this account of the Romish doctrine concerning the sacraments, from the work of a Romish bishop, in two small octavo volumes, entitled, "The sincere Christian instructed in the Faith, from the written Word;" but we have compared it with Father Paul's history of the Council of Trent, and found the account correct.

through the medium of the Holy Ghost, and as laying men under the most sacred obligations. Some of the clergy, who, during the persecution under Queen Mary, had fled to Geneva and other protestant countries beyond sea, returned, it is true, with doubts in their minds, whether bishops and presbyters were not originally of the same order, and whether presbyterian ordination and confirmation be not of equal validity with ordination and confirmation by bishops. From affected moderation or culpable negligence of inquiry, the same doubts are professed by two many of the clergy at this day; but, except among the independents who sprung up under the usurpation of Cromwell, it never entered into the head of any man calling himself a Christian, to suppose that the ordination of the clergy is a useless ceremony, till it became fashionable to confound the religion of Christ with what philosophers call the religion of nature.

Were Christianity nothing but a system of ethics founded on the relation which subsists between God as the Creator and Governor of the world, and man, as a rational creature, it would indeed be ridiculous to inquire by what form or what authority the clergy are ordained; because, in that case, the ablest moralist, whether *ordained* or not, would, of course, be the ablest and most useful minister. But if Christianity be, as it certainly is, an *instituted* religion, founded on the means employed by God to restore to mankind that immortality which all had forfeited by the sin of Adam; and if immortality be not now, nor ever was the *right* of man, either as *inherent* in his *nature*, or as *the reward of moral virtue*, (and this is the dictate of sober philosophy as well as of the gospel) it follows that immortality, if conferred upon man, must be conferred as a "*free gift*" upon such conditions as seemed best to the all-wise Giver. But the rites of a religion founded on a *free gift* must derive all the value, and the ministers of that religion all their authority, not from the *relations of nature*, but from the positive appointment of the *author of the gift;* and he who

maintains that any man, who is qualified by knowledge, may act as a minister of the gospel, though he be not ordained, must, to be consistent, claim to himself immortality, not as "the gift of God through Jesus Christ our Lord," but either as the *inherent right* of his nature, of which he cannot be deprived, or as a debt *due by God to his merit.*

Such arrogant claims are in direct opposition as well to the letter as to the spirit of the Gospel; and, therefore, he who has read the New Testament with any degree of intelligence, and believes it to be a revelation from heaven, must be convinced that from *it only* he can learn who they are who have authority from Christ to preach the word, and to administer the ordinances of his religion. Into this question we enter not now, having discussed it at some length in our ninth volume, and in our notes on Mr. Keith's letter published in our twelfth volume; and if our reasonings on these occasions be conclusive, it is obvious that something more than agreement in faith is necessary to constitute that union which our blessed Lord requires among his disciples.

It may not, however, be altogether useless to offer something in vindication of the mode, or, to use the language of the Council of Trent, "the sensible action or sacred sign," by which holy orders are conferred in the Church of England. This, it is well known, is the imposition of the hands of the bishop, accompanied with the words which the reader will find in the offices for the *Ordination of Deacons and Priests*, and the *Consecration of Bishops.* That imposition of hands was *not* the sensible action by which our Saviour conferred the last and highest order on the eleven, investing them with the authority which is now called episcopal, is, indeed, certain; because St. John assures us, that "he *breathed* on them, saying, Receive ye the Holy Ghost," &c. This sacred sign was properly employed by him, "to whom God gave not the spirit by measure," and

who himself conferred the spirit by his own authority; but it would ill become any mere man, who, whatever station he may fill in the church, can communicate the graces of the spirit only ministerially.

The apostles, therefore, instead of imitating in this instance the example of their divine Master, adopted the sign which, from time immemorial, had been employed among their countrymen in the ordination of men to offices sacred, or of high importance, and which Christ himself had employed on other occasions. Thus, Moses, by the direction of God, ordained Joshua to be his successor, by laying his hands upon him, and giving him a charge in the sight of the high priest and all the congregation.* After his example, the Jews employed the same ceremony in the ordination of their judges and rabbins down at least to the year of our Lord 1170;† and it appears from the Talmud,‡ that in the ordination of elders, three elders laid their hands on the head of the candidate for that dignity.

The ceremony of imposition of hands, therefore, in the ordination of ministers, was transplanted from the Jewish into the Christian church. It was employed by the college of apostles in the ordination of the seven deacons; by the prophets and teachers at Antioch, in "the separation of Barnabas and Saul, for the work whereunto the Holy Ghost had called them;§ by St. Paul and Barnabas, when they ordained (χειροτονησαντες) elders in every church;‖ and by St. Paul when he ordained Timothy. That imposition of hands was meant to be employed for the same purpose in the church of Christ, always even unto the end of the world, is apparent from the injunction given by the same apostle to the same Timothy, to "lay hands suddenly on no man, lest he should be partaker of other men's sins;"* and as the

* Numbers xxvii. 18, &c. † Vide Benjamin, itiner. p. 73.
‡ Sanhedr. cap. i. § Acts xiii. 1—4. ‖ Acts xiv. 23.
* This mode of appointing men to important offices has not been peculiar to the Jewish and Christian character. We learn from Demosthenes

Apostles were unquestionably directed by the spirit of Christ, this sensible action or sacred sign may be considered as ordained by Christ himself, though not ordained by him in *person*.

On the subject of ordination, the Catholic writers of the primitive church all thought as we do; and as St. Cyprian treats of it more fully than most of them, he is peculiarly obnoxious to the modern advocates for *lay-preaching*. He knew nothing of that Christian obligation on the grounds of which the people withdrew themselves, and, according to our author, are *bound* to withdraw themselves from their parochial teachers, and form separate churches under labourers of their *own choice*. On the contrary, he attributed all the heresies which then infested the church to such causeless divisions; and embraced every opportunity of exhorting the presbyters and deacons, as well as the people, to obey their respective bishops; while he entreated the bishops to preserve unity among themselves. His tract, *De unitate Ecclesiæ* is one of the most valuable works of antiquity, breathing throughout a spirit of peace and love, and written with great perspicuity of language and force of argument. Yet our author accuses him of *prelatical pride*, because he concurred with Cornelius in excommunicating Novetian as an incorrigible schismatic.

"That *Novetian* was a *dissenter* from the church I cannot perceive; for he was a bishop as truly chosen and ordained, from any thing which appears, as *Cornelius*. He was a man avowedly sound in all the principles of the gospel doctrine, and concurring in all the discipline of the church; nay, disposed to carry it to *excess*; and besides this, there rests not a shadow of accusation against him."

With your leave, good Doctor, this shadow was suffici-

(Oratione 1. in Philip.) that there were magistrates among the Athenians constituted χειροτονιᾳ, and thence styled χειροτονηθαι; and the same thing appears from the writings both of Plutarch and Cicero.

ent to condemn him. The manner in which he prevailed upon three obscure bishops to consecrate him is well known; and there is not perhaps in the annals of the church another consecration so completely scandalous. But granting, for the sake of argument, that it had been otherwise, the Roman see was already filled by Cornelius, whom you acknowledge to have been sound in the faith, and unexceptionable in his administration of the discipline of the church. In that state of things, could Novetian claim to be bishop of Rome, and refuse to hold communion with Cornelius and his clergy, without becoming a *schismatic*, or, as you properly enough express it, a *dissenter from the church?* Were you to go over to America, get yourself consecrated by three bishops of the church of the United States, return to Canterbury, and claim to be rightful metropolitan of all England, refusing to communicate with any clergyman who preaches not the doctrines of unconditional election and reprobation, would you or would you not be a schismatic or dissenter from the church of England?

To this question it is possible that you and we may be disposed to give different answers; but were a clergyman, calling himself the Rector of All Saints, Aldwinckle,* to open a conventicle in the parish, and seduce the people from the church, under pretence that you had climbed over the wall of the sheepfold, by accepting of an *unscriptural* presentation; and were he to refuse holding any communion with you, calling you *liar* and *traitor* on account of the tendency of this *impartial* history, we are persuaded that you would agree with us in deeming such a man a *schismatic*, who deserved to be degraded and excommunicated by the bishop of the diocese. Yet his crime would be less than that of Novetian in the same proportion as a modern parish is less than the ancient diocese of Rome, and as the harmony of a single congregation is of less consequence than

* Dr. Haweis is Rector of All Saints, Aldwinckle.

the peace of the church universal. But it is for passing the usual censures on Novetian and his adherents that Cyprian is here charged with *prelatical pride and insolence*, though it will not be easy to find in all the records of the church more striking instances of humility, combined with dignity, than was displayed by the bishop of Carthage on this and various other occasions.

To his deacon Pontius, who lived in his house, accompanied him in his exile, and was present at his martyrdom, his character was surely better known than to Dr. Haweis, who, from circumstances to be noticed hereafter, appears to us never to have read a page of his original works. Had Cyprian been arrogant and insolent, such a domestic must sometimes have *felt* his insolence. Yet, speaking of the reluctance with which he yielded to the clergy and people demanding him for their bishop, Pontius goes on—Quidam illi restiterunt, etiam ut vinceret. Quibus tamen quanta lenitate, quam patienter, quam benevolenter indulsit quam clementer ignovit, amicissimos eos postmodum et inter necessarios computans mirantibus multis? Cui enim posset non esse miraculo, tam memoriosæ mentis oblivio?

Could this have been published in Carthage of a bishop of an *unhumbled heart*, at a time when thousands were alive to contradict the eulogium? Or, would the same deacon have said of an *insolent* bishop, whose death he had just recorded—Dolebo quod non comes fuerim? sed illius victoria triumphanda est. Devictoria triumphabo? sed doleo quod comes non sim. Verum vobis tamen et simpliciter confitendum est quod et vos scitis, in hac me fuisse sententia. Multum, ac nimis multum de gloria ejus exulto; plus tamen doleo quod remensi.

Our author calumniates Eusebius still more grossly than he had calumniated Cyprian. He admits, indeed, that "this famed prelate, remarkable for his knowledge, reading, and ecclesiastical investigations, stands eminent among the first authorities for church history;" yet, as we have seen, as a

divine he was an *hæresiarch*, and as an historian, *credulous* and *unfaithful!*

That Eusebius, who was a great admirer of Origen, and deeply skilled in the Platonic philosophy of the Alexandrian school, sometimes expresses himself uncautiously on the divinity of Christ, must indeed be granted; but it is impossible to consider as a *pillar* of the Arian heresy, the man, who calls Christ αυτοθεον *very God*, and τον παμβασιλεα και παντων μονα, και αυτον θεον—*sovereign and leader of all things, and God by himself.** Dr. Haweis, however, from his reply to Dr. Maclane's vindication of Eusebius, seems to consider even bishop Bull himself a pillar of Arianism; for that illustrious prelate, in his Defensio fidei Nicenæ, has a whole chapter de subordinatione filii.

But granting that Eusebius was a semi-Arian, which the expressions quoted above will not permit us to grant, he may, notwithstanding, be a faithful historian. His morals were never impeached; pietate adeo venerabilis (says Cave,†) ut apud plurimas occidentis ecclesias in *sanctorum* numero habebatur; and he was so little ambitious of *worldly* greatness, that he refused to exchange the comparatively poor see of Cæsarea for the rich one of Antioch, because he deemed the translation of bishops from see to see disreputable. What could tempt such a man to falsify the records of the church? He was no schismatic, nor patron of schismatics, that he should have written a history for the express purpose of proving that the church of the fourth century had deviated essentially from the original church of Christ in doctrine, in government, and in worship! Had Dr. Clarke, whom our author calls a *blasphemer*, written a history of the church of England, does any man in his senses conclude, that because he was an Arian, or semi-Arian, he would have given a false detail of the succession of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York? Yet, for no other

* Hist. Eccles. lib. x. cap. 4. † Hist. Liter.

reason than the supposed arianism of Eusebius, does our *judicious* and *impartial* historian question the authenticity of the list which he gives of the bishops of Jerusalem, and accuse the learned author of glaring prejudice and credulity!

But does not Eusebius publish letters which were said to have passed between our blessed Lord and Abgarus, king of Edessa? and are not those letters apocryphal, though he professes to have translated them from the Syriac originals preserved in the archives of Edessa? That Eusebius has published such letters is certain; and to us it appears equally certain, that the letters are forgeries; but we do not think that Eusebius was the forger, or that it is any proof of his extreme credulity, that what imposed upon *Baronius*, *Spondanus*, *Valesius* and *Vossius*, among the moderns, and to which even *Cassaubon* and *Cave* seem inclined to give credit, imposed upon him. The Syriac originals were doubtless given to him as authentic; and he inserted translations of them in his history of the church, just as Livy inserted some incredible tales in his history of Rome. He inserted them as *letters preserved in the archives of Edessa*, which, with other archives, had been laid open to him by the command of the Emperor Constantine; and as he had a character to lose, and was obnoxious to a large party in the church, it is not conceivable that he would have appealed to public archives as containing letters which he was conscious that he himself had forged. All that Eusebius attested as consisting with his own knowledge was undoubtedly true; and we beg our *learned* author, before he makes another attack on his character as an historian, to read with as much attention as he is able to bestow, the eighth chapter of the first part of Bishop Pearson's *Vindiciæ Ignatianæ*. In the mean time he may meditate on the following extract from that masterly performance, and prove himself, if he can, an abler judge of such matters than the author!

Si autorem ullum veterem nominare posset, quam Eusebius agnovit, et cujus autoritatem testimoniis aliorum con-

firmatum ivet, qui postea fictor detectus est, aut val in dubium vocatus: aliquid quidam diceret, quod eum *a temeritatis et inverecundiæ crimine*, ut ipse loquitur, *liberaret.* Ego vero Eusebium tanta diligentia tantoque judicio in examinandis Christianorum primævæ antiquitatis scriptis, in quibus traditionem apostolicam contineri arbitratus est, usum fuisse contendo, ut nemo unquam de ejus fide aut descriptis, quæ ille pro *indubitatis* habuit, postea dubitaverit. Libri qui nunc in dubium vocantur, aut olim vocati sunt, testimonium ejus non habent.

Of Dr. Haweis's diligence and judgment in examining the writings of Christian antiquity, some estimate may be formed from his calling *Abgarus Agbarus;* from his supposing that "most of the Apostles *lived* and *died* among their brethren in *Palestine;*" from his affirming that "all ecclesiastical officers for the first three hundred years were elected by *the people*—nay, that *Matthias* was *thus* chosen to fill up what he calls the *tribular* number of the Apostles;" from his affirming that "no claims of pre-eminence among the clergy make their appearance in the epistle of Clement to the Corinthians;" and that it "was not till the *reign of Adrian* that the bishop was supposed to stand in the place of the Jewish high-priest, the presbyters in the place of priests, and the deacons in the place of Levites."* In farther proof of his accuracy and diligence, he speaks of "the *Constitutions* of *Ignatius*," meaning, we suppose, the *apostolical constitutions*, which were pretended to have been written by *Clement;* he calls Polycarp, whom all antiquity represents as the disciple of *St. John*, the disciple of *Ignatius;* mistaking the name of an office for the name of a man, he calls Pontius, the deacon of St. Cyprian, *Pontius Diaconus;* and, as we have seen, he makes Cyprian him-

* To be convinced of the rashness of this assertion, the reader needs only to consult St. Clement's first epistle to the Corinthians, or vol. ix. p. 125, of our Review.

self an advocate for *popery*, at the very time that he was contending for the *equal rights of diocesan episcopacy*, and *reproving Stephen, bishop of Rome*, for acting as if he thought himself superior to other bishops! Has Dr. Haweis read one page of the writings of Clemens Romanus, of Pontius, or of Cyprian?

He has certainly laboured to prove, if confident assertions can be called proof, that there are none of the Fathers whose writings are worth the reading; but mere assertions will have little weight in a cause where more learned men had employed, without success, much erudition and plausible reasoning. The heaviest charge which has been urged against the Fathers is their credulity; but "upon an impartial examination of the passages, upon which this charge principally depends for support, it will appear, (says a learned writer*,) that many of the supposed errors arise from misrepresentation; that many relate to trifling circumstances, many are dispersed among the sentiments of individuals, and not among the tenets of the church, and have no relation whatsoever to public principles of belief, or public terms of communion. How, therefore, these peculiarities conspire to make them generally unserviceable in the cause of religion, it is difficult to comprehend. If any attempts to elevate the Fathers to the high rank of the apostles, were made by their advocates; if they were affirmed to have been assisted by inspiration;† or to have been endowed above the common lot of mankind, with infallibility; the objection would doubtless carry great force against such ambitious pretensions. But we contend only that they deserve our regard as *witnesses of the opinions of their respective ages; as historians of the facts which were accessible to*

* Mr. Keith, in his Sermons at Bampton's Lecture.

† Dr. Haweis admits the apostolical Fathers to have been assisted by inspiration, for he says expressly, that "miraculous gifts *generally* ceased with the first generation of the Apostles' converts and successors. Therefore Clement and Ignatius were inspired.

their inquiries; and as teachers, whose piety and learning eminently distinguished them from all their contemporaries. Sharing the imperfections of other writers, they fairly claim the same indulgence. The faults imputed to them ought frequently to be imputed to the times in which they lived; when accuracy of research was often precluded by numerous obstacles, and when ardent zeal induced them to press every circumstance into their service, which carried with it even the appearance of truth. If the plea of credulity deserves to be admitted as a ground of rejection, with equal or perhaps superior force does it operate against some of the most celebrated authors of Greece and Rome."

This is placing the utility of the writings of the Fathers in a proper light. It is as witnesses only that we plead for them; and as witnesses they are entitled to the fullest credit. Their reasonings are often weak, and their criticisms puerile; but it is impossible to question the *integrity* of men who laid down their lives for the truth: What they affirm that they witnessed, they undoubtedly witnessed. Even the *opinions*, in which they were unanimous—*quod semper*, *quod ubique*, *quod ab omnibus*—are not to be hastily rejected, merely because they tally not with the dogmas of this or that modern school; and the man must have a very high opinion of his own understanding, who, like our author, presumes to say that he holds the *gospel truth* in greater purity than the bishops and presbyters of the first three centuries.

"Pride, surely, was not made for man;" and men truly religious are always humble. The most virtuous man on earth must be sensible that his good deeds cannot benefit his Maker; and the most zealous and orthodox Christian, if he forget not that he possesses nothing which he did not receive, will not boast of the services which he may have rendered to the cause of piety and truth. It was not, therefore, without surprize, that we found our most *orthodox* author, in the preface to the second volume of this history, expressing himself in the following terms:

"The great design of the adorable Redeemer when he came down from heaven, was to procure peace upon earth, and good will towards men. To correspond with this desirable and blessed purpose, is the great end and object of this history!"

A comparison such as this we had imagined that no man, whose mind is not swollen with spiritual pride, would have dared to make; and we will venture to say, that the *blasphemer* Clarke, though justly reprehensible for the notions which he entertained of the Son of God, never in idea compared the designs of that adorable person with his own! He left such comparisons to fanatics, and to a species of missionaries, with which, in his day, the Christian Church was not acquainted.

Clarke, indeed, as well as more orthodox men, held hardly any principle in common with Dr. Haweis; for he thought that our belief of Christianity rests on the evidence of miracles and prophecy; and our impartial historian affirms, with a confidence, which, were the assertion true, could become only the searcher of hearts, that "no man ever was convinced of divine truth savingly by miracle!" What though St. Luke assures us (Acts ix. 35.) that "all who dwelt at Lydda, when they saw Eneas *miraculously* cured by St. Peter, turned to the Lord!" our author, who thinks it *doubtful* whether St. Paul or himself had imbibed most of the spirit of Christianity, may consider the testimony of St. Luke as originating in mistake; for the Apostle *certainly* understood the doctrine of saving faith better than the Evangelist.

From the end of the fourth century, to the commencement of the Reformation, our author traces, with a bold pencil, the rise and progress of the corruptions of Christianity; but we shall content ourselves, and, we trust, our readers, with a very cursory view of his detail of the transactions of that gloomy period, because his facts are authenticated only by his own assertions, and are such as furnish

few lessons of instruction to Christians of the present day. His account of the Nestorians and Eutychians, in the fifth century, is well told; but his narrative of the rise, progress, and present prevalence of *Pelagianism* is in many respects objectionable.

When he talks of "*Cassian*, a Monk, of Marseilles, diffusing abundantly the pleasing poison of this heresy," we will not give ourselves the trouble to inquire whether he may not mean *Cassiodorus*, who, from being Minister to Theodoric the Ostrogath, retired, in his old age, into a monastery of his own building in Calabria, and published the *tripartite* history of Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodorite, with various learned works of his own and other writers. Cassiodorus, we know, has been accused, most unjustly indeed, of Pelagianism, because he published some of the works of Pelagius, after purging them of their errors; but Cassian, as Dr. Cave observes, was "Pelagianorum hostis acerrimus." Even the view which Dr. Haweis gives of the opinions of Cassian, though not quite accurate, differs widely from the heresies of Pelagius. He was indeed styled by the followers of Augustin, a *Semi*-pelagian, but with what justice the reader will perceive when he is informed that Cassian admitted the doctrine of *original sin*, and the necessity of *preventing* as well as *co-operating grace*. He contended, indeed, as St. Paul had done before him, that "the flesh lusteth against the spirit, and the spirit against the flesh; and that without some such internal struggle as this, there could be no such thing as human virtue, nor any receptacle in man for divine grace; but so far from teaching, that virtue *merits* heaven, as quoted by the accurate author of the *Historia Literaria*, "ex nimio fere pelagianos oppugnandi studio errores, asserit omnes justorum *justitias* esse *peccanta!*"

We readily admit, however, that in the writings of Cassian errors may be found, and that Pelagius was a heretic, whom our author has treated with perhaps greater lenity

than, from the nature of his heresy, he could have claimed at his hands; but we protest against the uncharitable insinuation, that Pelagianism pervades the Church of England at present; and we shall not hesitate to pronounce Dr. Haweis a false accuser of the brethren, if he charge with Pelagianism, all who dissent from the dogmas of Augustin, Luther, Calvin, and Edwards. Of the work of Edwards on Free-will, he perceives not, as we have already observed, the tendency; and we doubt much if he fully comprehends the metaphysics even of his masters Augustin and Calvin. The following exclamation is the offspring of arrogance and ignorance:

"I confess my astonishment at Mr. Milner's assertion, that the doctrine of *particular redemption* was unknown to the ancients; and he wishes it had remained equally unknown to the moderns; (we heartily wish the same thing). I am shocked that the scriptures of truth should be treated thus slightly, or the greatest and best of men be laid under so unbecoming a censure."

Whether Mr. Milner's assertion be censure or praise, it is an undoubted truth, that in the writings of the Fathers, anterior to St. Augustin, there is nothing which gives the smallest countenance to *particular redemption*. But pray, Sir, when did you discover that the Fathers of the first four centuries were the *greatest and best of men?* In your first volume you represent them as a crew of turbulent, credulous, contemptible liars, a sort of character to which we would not be hasty to apply either of the epithets *great* and *good*. With respect to the scriptures of truth, what right have you to suppose that either yourself, Calvin, Luther, or Augustin, understood them better than Bishop Bull or Jeremy Taylor? We know your answer to this question; for, after representing the Church as so totally corrupted in the end of the fifth century, that no genuine Christianity was to be found in it but among a few unknown persons, *God's secret ones*, you thus express yourself:

"The state of things at that time nearly resembled the *present.* The *greater dignitaries* of the Church too much men of *this world;* the inferior clergy *under their influence,* and choosing the ministry for its advantages, or an *idle life;* and *the people,* like *their priests,* easily engaged in the pageantry of rites, ceremonies, and *superstitious observances:* though a generation was preserved, who cleaved to the Lord in one faith, and served him out of a pure heart fervently:" A very pretty character this of the Church of England and all her great dignitaries, of whom we know none greater than the two prelates to whom we have referred you.

The view of the church during the sixth century grows darker and darker, and presents very little that is worthy of the reader's attention. To our author's narrative, however, implicit credit must not be given; for he inadvertently acknowledges (p. 49), that he has only "*looked* at *some* of the *writers* of that age, and their works." By what means he obtained a sight of the *writers* of that age, he has not told us; but we cannot help thinking that a man ambitious of the character of an *impartial* historian, was in duty bound, not only to *look at,* but to *read with care many* of the *works* of every age, of which he proposed to record the events and doctrines.

In the seventh century arose the impostor Mohammed, for whose success our author well accounts, by allowing to him great abilities, which he undoubtedly possessed, and by showing what advantages he derived from the ignorance, corruption, and condition of the clergy. We doubt, however, if Dr. Haweis has done more than *look at* the original writings of that period. To prove the extreme superstition of the age, he quotes St. Eloi of Noyon's character of a good Christian, which he *may* have found in Lord Kames's *Sketches of the History of Man.* We do not say that he has *actually* taken it from that work; but it is somewhat singular that an English historian of the Church should have quoted, without addition or diminution, the

very passage which had before been quoted for the same purpose by the Scotch Judge.*

Our author, who, upon every occasion, betrays a fellow-feeling for *schismatics*, is very willing to find the pure doctrines of the gospel among the *Paulinians* of this century; though, by his own account of them, they had as little claim to the appellation of Christians as the modern Quakers.—"They regarded the sacraments, he says, as merely allegorical, and not literally to be observed; they treated the Virgin Mary *contemptuously*" (which he seems to consider as meretorious conduct); "and in their church assemblies they abolished their names, [and offices] of Bishops and Presbyters, instituting a set of pastors, with *perfect equality*, without any peculiar *rights*, *privileges*, or garb to distinguish them from the people!"

His account of the struggles of the Bishop of Rome for universal supremacy in this age, and of the opposition which was made to his claims, not only by the Eastern Church, but by the British, Scotch, and Gallican Churches, and even by the Bishop of Ravenna, in Italy, would be valuable, had he referred us to the authors from whom the account is taken. The man, however, who only *looks* at original writings might not have found this an easy task; and, therefore, Dr. Haweis never attempts it.

His history of the eighth century is a well told tale; but it can be considered as nothing more; for though in general true, it rests on no other authority than his own assertions. Not one quotation is given—not one contemporary writer referred to. The means by which the Pope obtained what he has long claimed as the patrimony of St. Peter; the origin of the temporal dignities of the prelates, as *Dukes*, *Marquises*, *Counts* and *Barons*; the final rupture between the Eastern and Western Churches on account of image

* See Sketches of the History of Man, vol. iv. p. 376, 377, and our author's *Impartial History*, vol. ii. p. 63, &c.

worship; the conquests of the Saracens, and the first formidable appearance of the Turks, are all perspicuously detailed. We have likewise a concise account of the rise of the new Empire of the West, under Charles the son of Pepin, *surnamed* (says our author) *Charlemagne*. This, we suppose, was said to show his skill in the *French* language, as it is probably to display his knowledge of *Greek*, that a sect, by all other historians styled monothelites,* is by him uniformly called monotholites.

In the detail of ecclesiastical affairs during the ninth century, we expected some account of the rise and constitution of the Moravian Church, which has been, from its foundation, independent both of the Roman Pontiff, and of the Patriarch of Constantinople; but we were disappointed. Our author tells us only that it was founded in 850, by two Greek Monks; and that it is sufficiently superstitious. He dwells, however, at some length, on the sufferings of *Goteschalcus*,† whom he calls a martyr for divine truth; and expresses himself in language extremely reprehensible.

We abhor, as much as he does, all kinds of religious persecution; and the peculiar dogmas of Goteschalcus—at least those dogmas for which he suffered, appear to us harmless, though certainly not essential articles of the faith; and, in one sense of the words, perhaps not true. As our author mentions them only in general terms, as "the doctrines of predestination and grace," we shall lay them before our readers in the words of Goteschalcus himself, that a judgement may be formed of the propriety of Dr. Haweis's writings.

* From μονος and θελω.

† Goteschalcus, called likewise Fulgentius, on account of his eloquence and science, was a Benedictine Monk of Orbais in France, and flourished about the middle of the ninth century. Our author uniformly calls him Godeschalcus, thus confounding him with a deacon of the Church of Liege, who flourished about the year 767, and is known in the literary annals of the Church, as the author of the life of St. Lambert the martyr, a book filled with legends and lying wonders.

"Ego Goteschalcus credo et confiteor quod gemina est prædestinatio, sive Electorum ad requiem, sive Reproborum ad mortem: quia sicut Deus incommutabilis, ante mundi constitutionem omnes electos suos incommutabiliter, per gratuitam gratiam suam prædestinavit ad vitam æternam: Similiter omnino omnes Reprobos, qui in die judicii damnabuntur propter ipsorum mala merita, idem ipse incommutabilis Deus, per justum judicium suum incommutabiliter prædestinavit ad mortem merito sempiternam."* This is, indeed, Calvinism sufficiently harsh; but he elsewhere softens it in the following manner:

"Illos omnes impios et peccatores, quos proprio fuso sanguine filius Dei redimere venit, hos omnipotens Dei bonitas ad vitam prædestinatos, irretractabiliter salvari tantummodo velit: illos omnes impios et peccatores, pro quibus idem Dei filius nec corpus assumpsit, nec orationem, nec dico, sanguinem fudit, neque pro eis ullo modo crucifixus fuit, quippe quos pessimos futuros esse *præscivit*, quosque justissime in æterna præcipitandos tormenta præfinivit, ipsos omnino perpetim salvari penitus nolit."†

In this last extract, the reader perceives that the predestination and reprobation of Goteschalcus are *conditional;* and though he errs, not knowing the scripture, when he says that Christ was not, *in any respect*, crucified for the impious and the wicked, whom he has certainly redeemed from the *everlasting power of the grave*, yet the error carries in it nothing of blasphemy. Indeed, we strongly suspect, that had Dr. Haweis weighed well the import of this passage, he would not have lamented so loudly and so long over the fate of "poor Goteschalcus and his doctrine;" for modified Calvinism like this, seems not to be what he calls "the truths of vital godliness." At any rate, it ill became him to stigmatize the opposers of Calvinism in a body, with the epithets of "unhumbled, unawakened, pharisaical and

* Apud Hincmar. de prædest. cap. v. † Ibid. cap. xxvii. & xxix.

proud;" for a greater proof of the pride of his own heart cannot be conceived than he furnishes by thus seating himself in the chair of infallibility, and pouring forth railing accusations against such men as the Bishops Taylor and Horne.

But he is still more inexcusable, if an excuse be not found in his ignorance, when, after using such language as this, he goes on to say, that "the doctrine of the *Trinity* hath a near connection with that of *predestination* and grace." Was the late Mr. Jones of Nayland's faith in the Trinity not sound? We hardly think that even our author will dare to say so; and yet it is not possible for two Christians to think more differently than Mr. Jones and he on the subjects of *predestination* and *grace*. To be convinced of this, let the reader only compare the two admirable letters by Mr. Jones, on the modern doctrine of predestination, published in the fifth volume of our journal, with the following *modest* account which Dr. Haweis gives of himself and his brother Calvinists in this *imperfect* history:

"The natural man receiveth not the things which be of the spirit of God, neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned. Happily, the Lord, in every age, though they were but few comparatively—(what were few? the ages!)—taught some the grace of God, which bringeth salvation; and to this day a generation, according to the election of grace, can say wherein WE stand, and rejoice in hope of the glory of God!!!"

We have an account of the conversion of the northern nations, in the tenth century, to the Christianity which was then professed in the churches of Rome and Constantinople; and the author gives a rapid sketch, certainly not softened, of the shocking immoralities which prevailed among the clergy. No dissenter or deist could give stronger colouring to such descriptions; though here, as every where else, we feel the want of references to the original authors.

The eleventh century opens, in this work, with a brief

account of the crusades in Palestine; whence the author proceeds to the contests between the Emperor Otho and Pope Gregory the seventh; and concludes, as usual, with a detail of the almost universal corruption of faith and morals. The period was a busy one, and the narrative of its transactions is animated and interesting. A just tribute is paid to the memory of Berenger, for opposing the doctrine of transubstantiation, not yet universally received in the western church; but the author betrays his ignorance of the Aristotelian philosophy, when he says it was *ridiculous* to attempt, by means of it, to defend so monstrous an absurdity. The Aristotelian division of body into *matter* and *form*, which *may* exist *separately*, is admirably fitted for the support of transubstantiation; and we have often been tempted to believe, that, on this account, and on this only, the philosophy of the *Lyceum* was in the middle ages so generally preferred to that of the *Academy*. The consequences here attributed to the prevalence of monkery certainly sprung from that system; but, for the credit of the Albigenses, we hope that they were not a spawn of the Paulinians.

The history of the twelfth century exhibits nothing very different from that which prevailed in the preceding. The crusades were carried on with disgrace to the arms of Christian Europe; new contests arose between the Emperor and the Pope; the northern powers continued to convert their Pagan subjects and neighbours by the *sword;* and the most ridiculous questions were debated among the monks with the utmost keenness. This, however, kept inquiry alive, and sent the lover of truth to the sacred scriptures and the earliest uninspired writers of the church.

Hence much gospel truth was brought to light; and the *Waldenses*, of whom our author gives a just account, got a firm footing in various countries of Europe. In this century were founded several universities, though the Christians were still indebted, for what knowledge they obtained of the most useful sciences, to the Saracens; and a copy of the

pandects being discovered, suggested to the Pope the expedient of digesting under similar heads the various canons and decrees published at different periods by councils and pontiffs. Hence the origin of the *canon law*, which being conjoined with the *civil*, was taught as a science in the universities, and gave rise to the degrees of L. L. B. and L. L. D. at that period, or soon afterwards, the most highly valued of all academical honours, because the reward of the science employed with most success in support of papal usurpation.*

The thirteenth and fourteenth centuries present to us scenes in all respects similar to those which we have viewed in the preceding. Crusades in Palestine and Egypt against the followers of Mohammed, and in Europe against the Albigenses; contests between the Pope and the Emperor, and between his holiness and the French King; schisms in the papacy producing anathemas from Pope against Pope; the rise of dominician and franciscan orders of monks; the ridiculous disputes among the franciscans themselves; and the devotion of the monks of all orders to the court of Rome, are here placed before us in glowing colours. This part of the work is extremely well written, and not disgraced by our author's usual illiberality to those who think differently from himself respecting the distinguishing dogmas of Calvin. He shows that the disputes among the monks contributed much to the rise of the Lollards on the continent, while they stimulated our countryman Wickliff to search in the scriptures for that truth which he could not find in the schools. We have likewise some account of the missions to Tartary and China, and of the stop put to the progress of Christianity in the east, by the victorious arms of the bigotted Tamerlane.

* It was, perhaps, the discovery of this fact that induced our *Protestant* historian, after he had *inadvertently* taken the degree of L. L. B. to proceed to *Doctor in Physic;* a process certainly uncommon among clergymen, or men of general literature.

But we hasten to the fifteenth century, of which the history, in the work before us, opens with the fall of the Eastern Empire, the discovery of the new world, and the effects of those great events on the progress of letters and Christianity. At the beginning of this æra, there were no fewer than three Popes, each claiming the sovereignty of the visible church, and denouncing anathemas against the anti-popes and their various adherents, as well nations as individuals. To put an end to this confusion, the council of Constance was called, which deposed two of the Popes; and, the third giving in his resignation, a new Pope was chosen, who, by the name of *Martin* the fifth, assumed the ecclesiastical supremacy over the western world. The Greek church, though prostrate in the dust, still maintained, as at this day she maintains, her independence of the see of Rome, acknowledging no visible superior to her own patriarchs. The principal transactions of the council of Constance were the condemnation of John Huss and Jerome of Prague to the flames, in direct violation of the promise given to the former of these martyrs by the Emperor Sigismund; the ordering of the bones of Wickliff to be dug up and burnt; and the decree for withholding the sacramental cup from the laity. Another council was called, during this century, at Pavia, which deposed Pope Eugenius; and the schisms and dissentions which this occasioned, paved the way for the reformation.

We have accompanied this *impartial* historian through 1500 years of the Christian church, and have now arrived with him at the æra of the reformation. Being as little attached to popery and its corruptions, as any chaplain of the late Countess of Huntingdon can be, we agree with Dr. Haweis that it is an important æra—even the æra of the revival of genuine Christianity. Our zeal, however, does not prompt us, as his zeal has prompted him, to plead for the immaculate purity of the motives by which the earliest reformers were influenced in every stage of their

controversy with the church and court of Rome. We certainly believe that "Luther, in his *faint* opposition to the corruptions of the age, was animated not by zeal for truth, but either by avarice or by mean envy for the glory of his order neglected by a preference of the Dominicans;" and yet, if our author include us among those "popish adversaries or infidel historians, to whom, he says, malignity and hatred of gospel-truth suggested this opinion," we hesitate not to say to him—*Mentiris impudentissime.* We are so far from being ashamed of receiving benefit from such men as Martin Luther and Henry the eighth, that we bless the hand which turned the avarice of the one, and the luxury of the other, from their natural mischiefs, to become instruments of the choicest blessings—even the recovery of LETTERS, and the restoration of RELIGION. But we are not surprised that Erasmus, though he saw the errors of the church more clearly than Luther himself, "trembled at the rude hand of hasty reform;" nor does our charity, notwithstanding his modest expression, permit us to say that it was only the *cowardice* of his own spirit which made him fear "to be involved in the *dangers* that he apprehended." Such sentences can proceed only from the mouths and pens of Calvinists, who affect to be *searchers of hearts* and *discovers of spirits.*

Dr. Haweis draws an amiable, and, in general, a just character of Melancthon; though he says, that "the yielding temper of that reformer, his love of peace, and some educational *prejudices* respecting *church unity and schism*, led him sometimes into concessions injurious to the cause which he defended."

We have seen that, in our author's opinion, *schism* is no sin, and church unity unworthy of the regard of a *spiritually-minded man;* but Melancthon thought otherwise—"Would to heaven, (says he) that I could not only not enfeeble the power of bishops, but establish their *dominion;* for I see but too well, what sort of church we are likely to

have, if we demolish ecclesiastical government: I am sure that the tyranny we have escaped (viz. that of Rome) will then be nothing to that which we shall see established."*

This, however, is not the only educational prejudice which our impartial historian undoubtedly finds in the writings of Melancthon. That great and good man was no *Calvinist*, as appears as well from his Letter to Archbishop Cranmer, as from what he teaches, in the Augsburg Confession, concerning the promise of grace, and justification. In the Letter he says, "Nimis horridæ fuerunt initio *stoicæ disputationes* apud nostras *de fato*, et disciplinæ nocuerunt. Quare te rogo, ut de tali aliqua formula doctrinæ cogitas." In the Confession he thus expresses himself: "Non est hic opus disputationibus de prædestinatione aut similibus. Nam *promissio est universalis;* et nihil detrahit operibus, imo exsuscitat ad fidem, et vere bona opera."

Such offences as these are not to be forgiven by our *orthodox* historian, who yet, strange to tell, speaks of Zuinglius in terms of the highest respect. "Though not alike famed with Luther, he may justly (says our author) rank his equal in piety, in learning his superior." Would the reader, after this, suppose that on *free-will*, *grace*, *election*, and *reprobation*, Zuinglius held opinions little different from those of Pelagius on the same subjects? We mention not his mean notions of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, or his making the *church* the creature of the *state*. In the former of these opinions, Dr. Haweis probably agrees with him; and though he himself makes the church the creature of the *mob*, we are not surprised at his preferring *Erastionism* to *Apostolical authority*. But, in the name of consistency, how comes he to praise the reformer, who maintained that heaven is open to all who live according to the light vouchsafed to them; and who seem not to have believed in *original sin?* To talk of the "moderate tem-

* Seward's Anecdotes, vol. iii. p. 129.

per and self-command" of Zuinglius, would be ridiculous in any man who knows that he put off the character of a clergyman to assume that of a soldier, and died fighting for his opinions against the Cantons, whom he had not been able, by reasoning, to convert to the protestant faith; but of the particulars of this fact our diligent and impartial historian must be supposed ignorant. He is not ignorant, however, that Zuinglius and Luther differed widely in their opinions respecting the *Lord's Supper*, which, he says, "is a subject unworthy of contest;" and, apologizing for them, he requests us to "remember that the *best of men* are but *men at the best!*"

His praises of Calvin are not much higher than we expected from him; yet an historian *truly* impartial, after observing that this far-famed reformer "embraced the doctrines of truth, and adorned them by a conversation the *most exemplary*," would have related, with due horror, the burning of Servetus at a stake, instead of slurring Calvin's guilt with—"*If* this *were* a just charge, let the reproach rest upon him!" When he passed this feeble censure on the apostle of Geneva, he had surely forgotten his own maxim, that "no man ought to vindicate, or, as he might have added, extenuate, abuses in the cause of protestantism, whilst he pleads against them in the hand of popery."

Notwithstanding these effusions of prejudice and partiality, he gives a rapid and well written sketch of the progress of the reformation in Germany, France, Switzerland, Sweden, Denmark, and Norway; and then proceeds to state the *doctrines* of the reformation, and to contend, in direct opposition to what he had before related of the contests of Luther, Carlestadt, and Zuinglius, for a *union of sentiment among the reformers!*

What he calls the doctrines of the reformation are the peculiar opinions of Calvin and his more rigid adherents, which, of course, we must suppose are all that he deems

necessary to be received by the Romish Church to restore her to primitive purity. The condemnation of image-worship, of transubstantiation, of the invocation of saints; the denial of purgatory and of the supremacy of the Pope; and the restoration of the cup to the laity in communion, as well as of the privilege of marriage to the clergy, are not deemed worthy of notice among the doctrines which the first reformers unanimously maintained! The fundamental truths, in which all the eminent men among them concurred, were only——

"1. Of God's *eternal purpose* and *predestination* of *an elect people*, and those, comparatively *few*, ordained to life and glory eternal. 2. That man had lost all *ability to do good*, and *freedom of will* to choose it; and was in his nature, as fallen, inclined only to evil. 3. That nothing ever did or can alter this propensity of the human heart, but the Holy Ghost by his own immediate agency on the souls of men. 4. That a sinner is, and can *be justified by faith only;* and this not of himself, being unable either to comprehend or receive the things that be of the Spirit of God; and therefore, *the faith* itself must be *the gift of God.* 5. That *merit* in creatures there is none nor ever can be. From first to last a sinner must be saved by grace. 6. That the vicarious atonement by the one oblation of Christ upon the Cross is effectual, *not for the many called*, but for the *few chosen.*"

Were we less acquainted than we are with the principles and views of Dr. Haweis, we should indeed be surprised by his hardy assertion, that "these are the things which the reformers uniformly held;" whilst he passes, without notice, so many other things, about which all Europe knows that there was no controversy among them. But, how does he prove the *unanimity* of the reformers in holding *these* abstruse dogmas of Calvinism? Why, as usual, by his own confident assertions, and by partial extracts from the correspondence of Luther with Erasmus!

Melancthon's sentiments respecting predestination and election we have already exhibited in his own words, to which it is hoped that all our readers, who have not been chaplains to the late Countess of Huntingdon, will give as much credit as to the unsupported assertion of our *impartial historian.* The sentiments of Zuinglius respecting these subjects may be safely inferred from the following address of the minister to the godfathers and godmothers of children brought to be baptized, which the reader will find in the Liturgy of the Church of Zurich, of which Zuinglius was the founder:—"Consider, therefore, that it is the will of God our Saviour, that *all men* should attain unto the knowledge of his will, through our only Mediator Jesus Christ, who gave himself up for the redemption of ALL MANKIND."* Is this Calvinism, or what our author calls gospel truth?

The quotation from Luther proves, indeed, that he held the most shocking of the tenets which have usually been attributed to Calvin as their author; but it proves, at the same time, that, in controversy, he substituted petulance for argument, and scrupled not to pervert the meaning of scripture to support his cause. Erasmus had said—"What can be more useless, than to publish this paradox to the world? namely, that whatever we do, is done, not by *virtue of our own free will*, but in *a way of necessity*," &c. To this very pertinent question, Luther, after a number of sarcasms, which the respect due to learning, genius, and virtue, should have suppressed, replies; "You urge, where is either the necessity or utility of preaching predestination? God himself teaches it, and commands *us* to teach it, and that is answer sufficient."

True! if God command us to teach it, no other answer could be required by Erasmus, or will be required by any one of those Churches, in which Dr. Haweis says, that "the

* *Liturgia Figurina*, London, 1693.

doctrines of the reformation have gone out of vogue :" But where is this *command* to be found ?

Predestination, we shall suppose to be an undoubted truth; but we find no mention of it in the Gospels nor in the Acts of the Apostles ; and we hardly think that even the zeal of our author will contend, that in these five inspired tracts, all the truths are not to be found, which our blessed Lord commanded his followers to teach, when he said to the eleven, " Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to *every creature.* He that believeth and is baptized, shall be saved ; and he that believeth not, shall be damned." The controversies of St. Paul with the Jews and Greek philosophers, led him into disquisitions on many topics, to which Christians might for ever have safely remained strangers ; and which illiterate Christians can never comprehend. Let not the reader be startled at this assertion. For the character and labours of St. Paul we have the highest veneration, and believe the world to be more indebted to him, than to any other individual minister of Christ ; but even St. Peter, though he did not presume, like our author, to charge the Apostle of the Gentiles with *temporizing*, yet acknowledged, that, " in his epistles are some things hard to be understood, which they who are unlearned and unstable, wrest to their own destruction."

The case, indeed, could not be otherwise. St. Paul's epistles are, every one of them, addressed to particular churches, or particular men, for the obvious purpose of guarding them against some prevailing errors, and unravelling the sophistry of the Jews, the Gnostics, the Stoics, and the Epicureans. This being the case, no man can feel the full force of his reasonings, or apprehend the precise meaning of the terms which he uses, who has not some knowledge of the questions that were agitated among those to whom his epistles were immediately addressed. Such knowledge can never be the portion of illiterate Christians, who shall therefore be saved, if they believe the plain truths, and fulfil the duties inculcated in the four gospels ;

though they perplex not themselves with the things in St. Paul's epistles, which St. Peter himself thought hard to be understood.

In the gospels, then, must we look for the *command* which Luther says, God has given *us* to teach ignorant men, that "whatever they do, is done, not by virtue of their own free will, but in a way of necessity." Instead of *such* a command, however, he produces only two passages, which, as they contain *no command* of any kind, are nothing to the purpose. The former, in which our blessed Lord says,* "Many are called, but few are chosen," refers obviously to the calling of the Jews by the first preaching of the gospel; and the latter† is only a declaration that Christ knew the temper and disposition of those whom he had called to the apostleship. After telling the twelve that they "were not all clean," and setting them an example of condescension and humility, he adds, "If ye know these things, happy are ye, if ye do them. I speak not of you all, *I know whom I have chosen:* but that the Scripture might be fulfilled, he that eateth bread with me, hath lift up his heel against me." If these words could be supposed to have any relation whatever to the doctrine of election and reprobation, (which they plainly have not), they would operate with the force of demonstration *against* that doctrine; for they declare that Judas was *chosen* as well as St. Peter.

Aware that his illustrious correspondent would not receive these two texts of scripture, as the *command of God to teach* that what we do, is done, not by virtue of our own free will, but in *a way of necessity*, Luther at last condescends to point out to him the *utility* of the doctrine: "It tends, he says, to humble our pride!"

Does it indeed? Are the Calvinists, in general, the humblest of mortals? Or does this impartial history indicate the extreme humility of its author? Surely the man who pronounces that all the Catholic writers of the first four centu-

* Matt. xx. 16. † St. John xiii. 18.

ries are either weak or wicked, and that all the moderns who think not on these subjects as he does, are "destitute of learning, not to say common sense," has no pretensions whatever to humility. Indeed, it is not easy to conceive how the belief of unconditional election and reprobation can possibly humble the human heart; for, as it is natural for him who is convinced that he is one of the chosen few, to look down with contempt on the less favoured multitude; so he who believes, that whatever he does, is done by necessity, may indeed, as our Church teaches,* "be thrust either into desperation, or into wretchedness of unclean living;" but he cannot be humbled by the consciousness of *guilt*, because, though a murderer, he was as *passive an instrument* as the sword by which he perpetrated the deed. By the inward operation of divine grace, the elected Calvinist may indeed be kept humble; but, by the same operation, the virtuous remonstrant may likewise be kept humble; especially as *he is* conscious that *all his sins are chargeable on himself.*

But the reformer adds another reason to prove the utility of this doctrine.

"It is one of the highest degrees of faith, he says, stedfastly to believe that God is infinitely merciful, though he saves, comparatively, but few, and condemns so many; and that he is strictly just, though of his own will he makes such numbers of mankind necessarily liable to damnation. These are some of the unseen things, whereof faith is the evidence. Whereas, were it in my power to comprehend them, or clearly to make out *how* God is both inviolably just, and infinitely merciful, notwithstanding the display of wrath, and seeming *inequality* in his dispensations, respecing the reprobate, faith would have little or nothing to do."

And this jargon Dr. Haweis calls a "triumphant reply!" forgetting, it is to be hoped, that God himself appeals to

* 17th Article.

human judgment for the *equity* of his ways, which he surely would not have done, if divine justice had been altogether *incomprehensible by man.* In the first chapter of Isaiah's prophecies, he calls upon the Jews to *reason* with him on the subject, and, by the mouth of Ezekiel, thus addresses them: "Yet ye say, the way of the Lord is not equal. Hear now, O house of Israel! Is not my way equal? are not your ways unequal?" A question, which the house of Israel could not have answered, were there any truth in this reasoning of Luther's.

Let not the reader be scandalized at the freedom with which we treat the dogmas and reasonings of this great reformer. To use the language of a celebrated historian,* "The knowledge of truth was not poured into his mind all at once, by any special revelation: he acquired it by industry and meditation, and his progress, of consequence, was gradual." He was liable, therefore, to all the mistakes of other students; and was destitute of many aids, which we now possess, for the discovery of religious truth. Whilst the irascibility of his own temper, resenting the ill treatment which he received from the church of Rome, drove him, perhaps, too far from the creed of that church in some points of doctrine, the inveterate prejudices of education made him symbolize too much with her in others; and be it remembered, that, if *he* thought "the truths respecting predestination in all its branches, should be *taught* and *published*," the *reformers* of our *own* church were of a very different opinion;† and that if deference be due to human authority, it is to *them*, and not to Luther, that *we* are to pay it.

From this digression respecting the union of sentiments among the most eminent reformers, the author returns to the history of the church. His detail of ecclesiastical affairs,

* *Robertson's History of Charles V.*

† See the conclusion of the 17th Article.

from the diet of Augsburg, to the religious peace in the same city, is not sufficiently minute; and he has produced no good authority for his belief, that the Emperor Charles the fifth died in the protestant faith. The superstitious mummeries of that monarch, at the end of his life, are indeed altogether inconsistent with the supposition; and Dr. Haweis might have found, in the spirit and temper of Philip, a sufficient reason for the cruel treatment of Charles's friends and confessor, without supposing that a Romish priest and Romish bishop countenanced the apostacy of the Emperor from the Romish faith! With Robertson, however, we think it is not improbable, that Charles, "having found, after repeated trials, that he could not bring any two clocks or watches to go exactly alike, might reflect, with a mixture of surprize as well as regret, on his own folly, in having bestowed so much time and labour on the mere vain attempt of bringing mankind to a precise uniformity of sentiment concerning the profound and mysterious doctrines of religion." This was a reflection worthy of the most sagacious monarch of his age, when, freed from the cares of government, he was at leisure to meditate coolly on the powers, passions, and prejudices of the human mind.

In the fourth chapter of the book which contains the history of the sixteenth century, we have a rapid detail of the progress of the reformation in England, Scotland, Ireland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Brandenburg, Prussia and Germany. There is, however, nothing in it to which our readers can be supposed strangers, except a ludicrous story, not worthy of repetition, respecting Dr. *Cole* and the *knave of clubs;* an erroneous account of the constitution of the first reformed church in Scotland; and an acknowledgment, we suppose inadvertently made, that the Augsburg confession is not Calvinistic, and, of course, that what was formerly said of the Calvinism of Melancthon, is a falsehood!

We have more than once, in reviewing this work, had occasion to remark, that to the impartiality of an historian,

diligence and accuracy are as essential as the love of truth; and, if our *learned* and *candid* author had given himself the trouble to read *Skinner's Ecclesiastical History;* Bishop Sage's *Fundamental Charter of Presbytery;* or even the *Liturgy* compiled for the use of the church of Scotland, by the reformer Knox, he would hardly have dared to express himself in the following terms:

"The intrepid Knox having formed with Calvin, at Geneva, the strictest friendship, and adopted all his opinions respecting church government, be returned to his native land; and with his rough eloquence, and hardihood that knew no fear, he bore down all opposition, overturned the whole Popish hierarchy, and established the Presbyterian government in its stead, *to which the church of Scotland still adheres.*"

We pass over the obvious intention to deceive, in the studied ambiguity of the last clause of this sentence; and only beg leave to refer our *spiritually-minded* man, to the works which we have mentioned, for a complete proof that the Presbyterian form of church government was introduced into Scotland, *not* by John Knox, but by Andrew Melville; and, that for the first fifteen years, the reformed church was governed by *superintendants*, for the ordination of whom John Knox drew up a *form*. Superintendants, however, resemble bishops; and such is our pious priest's unremitting zeal to excite the rancour of the multitude against that order of men, that, speaking of those, who, in the reign of our Henry the eighth embraced the "evangelical doctrines," he says,

"Some of them, as the excellent Bilney, by whom Latimer was converted, with Frith, and other worthies, fell victims to EPISCOPAL persecution, and died in flames!"

When you wrote this very extraordinary sentence, (give us leave, Sir, to ask you solemnly) what impression did you mean to make on the minds of your readers? You know perfectly well, that the persecutions under the reign

of Henry, can no more be called *episcopal*, than *presbyterial* persecutions; but do you not likewise know, that your admirers—the infatuated frequenters of Lady Huntingdon's chapels—will understand you as here charging *bishops* of *every communion* with cherishing, in the churches which they govern, a spirit of persecution? That the charge is *false*, a stronger proof cannot be wished for, than that *the rector* of *All-Saints*, *Aldwinckle*, has never been censured, either for his schismatical practices at Bath, or for the numberless insinuations of a malicious tendency with which this history teems against the regular clergy of the church of England.

We pass over the two next chapters, *on the learning and heresies of the times*, and *on the accessions made to the Christian Church;* because from them the reader can learn nothing, except that the author, differing widely from Bacon, is of opinion, that "the more *advanced* in science proceeded to the *summit* of wisdom, to know that *there is no God!*"

The seventh chapter, *on the Progress of the true Church*, exhibits a melancholy picture of the religion of those who, in the western world, acknowledged the supremacy of the Pope, and, in the east, that of the Patriarch of Constantinople. The author, however, had surely forgotten his own definition of gospel doctrines, when, speaking of the Greek Christians, he chose to affirm, that "they are tenacious only of their miserable forms and ceremonies, in which all their Christianity consists, and strangers alike to *the gospel doctrines*, and the purity of godliness." According to him, *predestination* is the most *important of all gospel doctrines;* and we learn from Dr. King,* not only that it is a dogma of the Greek church, but also that it is treated by some of the Russian clergy, "with a much better kind of logic than that with which such points are generally discussed." When Dr. Haweis shall have read this, or rather the work to

* *Rites and Ceremonies of the Greek Church*, &c.

which we have referred him, we trust, that his *candour* will impel him to make, through the medium of the Russian Ambassador, a proper apology to the Archbishop of Novogorod, for having thus inadvertently calumniated *the brethren!*

The account of the Lutheran churches is given with less partiality than our author usually betrays. It proves with the force of demonstration, that the earliest reformers were *not* agreed in holding the doctrine of *unconditional* election and reprobation; that the followers of Melancthon were, at least, as numerous as those of Luther; and that they were prevented from explicitly avowing themselves to be what Dr. Haweis calls Semi-pelagians, only during Luther's life, lest his irascible temper and overbearing spirit should excite such dissentions among them, as might give advantages to their common enemies.

Among the Calvinistic churches enumerated in the same chapter, is placed the church of England. As our author produces no other proof than his own *assertion*, that she holds the doctrine of *absolute decrees*, we shall content ourselves at present with opposing to it our *denial;* but when he quotes Bishop Burnet, in support of another position equally false, the reader may perhaps think him entitled to more attention. Speaking of the Puritans in the reign of Elizabeth, he says—

"Nor were they as averse to the name of bishop or his superintendance, as to the pomp, and wealth, and political engagements of the prelacy: for as yet the English bishops claimed not their office by *divine right*, but *under the constitution of their country;* nor pleaded for *more than two orders* of apostolical appointment, bishops and deacons."

Has Dr. Haweis never read the Preface to the *Form of ordaining Bishops, Priests, and Deacons*, published, by authority, in the reign of Edward the sixth? If not, it is time that he *should* read it; that he may not again oppose the testimony of an individual respecting the doctrines of the

church, to the authoritative declaration of the church herself. But the declarations of the church are by him generally understood in a sense diametrically opposite to the literal meaning of the words in which they are made.

Thus, in the *exhortation at the celebration of the communion*, the church, by the mouth of the priest, instructs the people, that "as the benefit is great, if, with a true penitent heart, and lively faith, we receive that holy sacrament (for then we spiritually eat the flesh of Christ, and drink his blood; then we dwell in Christ, and Christ in us; we are one with Christ, and Christ with us;) so is the *danger* great, if we receive the same unworthily: for then are we *guilty of the body and blood of Christ our Saviour;* we eat and drink our own *damnation*, not considering the Lord's body," &c. But our author, wishing to make the church in every thing symbolize with the oracle of Geneva, says—"Calvin supposed the *sign* or *symbol* to convey a sacramental pledge of blessing, and that a *spiritual presence* of *Christ* attended it to the regenerate and believing only; whilst to others the elements remained as *common food:* and *this the Church of England adopted.*" Whence it follows, that, in his opinion, the Church of England means by the word *damnation*, bodily *nourishment;* for we can hardly suppose that he really intends, every time that he sits down to dinner, literally to "eat and drink his *own damnation*, or to be *guilty of the body and blood* of Christ his Saviour!"

His account of the rise and progress of the Socinians, Independents, and Anabaptists, contains little that is new or exceptionable. Mention is, indeed, made of a *city*, of which we never heard before, called *Racow;* and geographical information we certainly did not expect from a history of the church. We are afraid, however, that, by all other historians, civil or ecclesiastical, our author's *Racow* is called *Cracow*, or *Cracovia;* and had he studied with care the works of Charles Leslie, he might have learned, with other things of more importance, that the Socinian ca-

techism was published in *Cracow*, though to avoid a cacophonie, it is usually called the *Racovian* catechism. This is a trifling blunder, but it shows a defect of that accuracy, without which an historian can never be trusted.

His introduction to the history of the church, in the seventeenth century, raised in our minds expectations which the continued narrative did not gratify. The candour with which he judges of the conduct of the Jesuits, when acting as Missionaries in the four quarters of the globe; the censures which he deservedly passes upon the other orders which thwarted their measures; and the disinterested zeal by which he allows many of that learned and active order to have been influenced, led us to hope for the same impartiality in his account of the reformed churches, more especially of the church of England. We were, however, woefully disappointed. James the first he finds *popishly* inclined, and his most respectable bishops *impious flatterers;* yet the church of Rome knew so little of this inclination, that, we are told, she meant to blow up the monarch and his bishops by gunpowder! Charles the first leaned still more towards Rome, and Archbishop Laud was *half a* Papist; though the Princess Elizabeth has declared to the world, that the last injunction laid upon her by her royal father, was to study the Archbishop's book against Fisher the Jesuit, which would *ground her against popery!*

It is indeed known to all who are acquainted with the history of that period, that no man recovered so many persons from the corruptions of popery as Dr. Laud; that the famous Chillingworth was one of his proselytes; and that, of course, it is to that much calumniated prelate, that the world is indebted for the ablest defence of the reformation that ever was written—we mean Chillingworth's *Religion of Protestants, a safe Way to Salvation.* The Archbishop was indeed a high-churchman, and discountenanced the doctrine of *absolute decrees;* and the divine right of episcopacy, with the universality of redemption, are, in our au-

thor's opinion, the two greatest heresies that can be maintained by a Protestant, whether clergyman or layman. They are much greater offences against God than *impiety* and *hypocrisy;* for, "he hopes that Whitgift and Bancroft were *good men*, and good bishops," though, in the page immediately preceding that in which this hope is expressed, he had called the former an *impious flatterer*, and the latter, a *hypocrite!* (vol. iii. pp. 80, 81.)

What he says, (p. 62) of Calixtus, the divinity professor of Helmstadt, is much more applicable to Laud:—"No man appears a more determined Protestant than Laud, or has written with greater force against the errors of the church of Rome; though he was abused as half a Catholic, because he maintained, that in the church of Rome *the fundamental articles* were still held; and that salvation might there be obtained, even though men were under many mistakes and prejudices of education. He admitted that the union of churches was impracticable, under the decisions of the council of Trent;" but earnestly wished that those decisions might be altered, and Rome become such as that he could unite with her. This surely was no unpardonable offence in the disciple of him, who, in one of his best prayers on earth, said, "Holy Father, keep through thine own name those whom thou hast given me, that they may be *one as we are.*"

Dr. H. does not think Cromwell just equal to Charles the first in moral worth; but "the true religion," i. e. Calvinism, "was infinitely more indebted to him!" Nay, we are as much indebted to him for *preserving* true religion among us, as to Henry the eighth for introducing it! Was true religion then preserved among us by the *Brownists*, *Muggletonians*, *Quakers*, *Fifth-monarchy-men*, and all the other sects without name and number, which sprang up under the protectorate, and are now mostly forgotten? A spiritually-minded man, who, preferring the schism-shop to the cathedral, wishes, by all possible means, to lessen episcopal au-

thority, may be of this opinion; but we trust that the majority of the nation think differently of true religion.

With respect to the character of Charles the second, we are not inclined to dispute with him; but we cannot enough admire the effrontery of the man, who affirms that the Bishops and other dignitaries of the church were in that reign ignorant, worldly-minded, and negligent of their duty! Were the Archbishops Juxon, Shelden, and Sancroft ignorant, or worldly-minded men? He admits some merit in *Kenn*, even though an *Arminian;* and be it recorded to the honour of Charles, that Dr. Kenn recommended himself to his favour, not by flattering his vices, but by reproving his mistress—the famous Nell Gwyn. Warburton, though, in our author's opinion, no better a Christian than Julian the apostate, was *probably* as *learned* as Dr. Haweis; and, as he was no high-churchman, he may be entitled to credit, when he affirms of the reign of Charles the second, not only that "it *was*, but is, likely *ever to be esteemed* our golden age of theological literature."

Our author, who finds not one unsullied virtue in the sovereigns of the house of Stuart, discovers great *generosity* in William, Prince of Orange, when he *condescended* to *accept* of three kingdoms! Magnanimous hero! He was not actuated by low ambition, or a desire to humble the French king. His *only* motive for deigning to snatch the sceptre from the hands of his uncle and father-in-law, was a desire to preserve the profession of the true religion in Great-Britain and Ireland! How opportunely was he seized with that Christian desire immediately after the birth of the Prince of Wales;—an event which opened his eyes likewise to another fact, which he could not previously be *made to perceive!* James, and his brother Charles, had been often accused of extending the prerogative, and encroaching on the rights of the people, and the parliament; but William, as long as he was heir-apparent to the throne, saw no necessity for *restraining* the prerogative. He even said to Charles,

that it ought *not* to be restrained; but he now discovered his mistake, and came over to England, not merely to prevent the establishment of popery, but to redress *all* the grievances of the nation! Yet William was not a *faultless* sovereign. He filled the vacant sees with *latitudinarian divines*, favouring *Arminianism*, and some of them even high-churchmen!

Our learned historian, however, is mistaken, when he says that the prelates, who could not transfer their allegiance to him from the abdicated Sovereign, were *deposed*. No attempt was made to *depose* them, if by deposition he meant degradation. They were, indeed, deprived of their *sees* by an act of Parliament; but deprivation of a see, and *deposition* or *degradation*, are words of very different import, though Sir Richard Hall and he have *chosen* to confound them. A schism, it is true, was, by this rash measure, introduced even among *high-churchmen;* but Sancroft and Tillotson were both bishops, and the adherents of neither looked upon the ordination of the other as *invalid:* they followed the example of the council of Nice, which acknowledged the *validity* of the Novetian ordinations, though unquestionably schismatical; and when a clergyman went over from the one party to the other, he was not re-ordained, but only required to renounce the principles upon which the schism was founded. Our reverend physician's insinuations, therefore, that the authority of the regular clergy is not more apostolical than that of the self-commissioned methodists, proceeding, like those of his precursor the Baronet, on a confusion of ideas, serve only to evince how little he is acquainted with the constitution of the Catholic church, and how desirous he is to promote fanaticism and endless divisions.

The history of the eighteenth century opens with a high penegyric by the author on himself; and the object of the detail is to prove that there is no true Christianity in the world, but among the *Moravians*, the *Methodists*, the Ger-

man *Pietists*, and the various sects of Scottish *Seceders*, who are, indeed, such genuine *gospellers*, that they have publicly renounced some of the first principles of moral rectitude.* The Lutheran churches have *all* deviated from the opinions of their founder respecting *particular* redemption and *absolute* decrees; and Dr. Haweis, who holds these opinions, has too good reason to value his *own* understanding and progress in godliness, to look upon their universal apostacy as a ground of *probability*, if not a *proof*, that Luther, on these points, had not discovered the truth as it is in Jesus!

Much undeserved abuse, we believe, has been poured upon the Moravians; but we cannot pay great regard to our author's account of their church and doctrines, because it omits several things of importance to be known, and contains some assertions, which we have good reason to consider as false. An episcopal succession is indeed a matter of too little importance to be noticed by our *spiritually-minded* man; but there are readers of our journal, who will receive pleasure from the information that Archbishop Potter, after the most diligent research into the history of the church of the united brethren, admitted the succession of their bishops to have been uninterrupted, and considered them as a society of Christians deserving of the right hand of fellowship. Our author affirms, that Count Zinzendorff, "though he consented, with Baron Watteville, to be appointed to the presidence of the brethren's affairs, both spiritual and temporal, in conjunction with the elders of the congregation, yet continued in communion with the Luthern church to his dying day!"

This is a tale, in itself, exceedingly improbable. The united brethren, at that period, if not now, considered episcopal ordination as necessary to qualify the servants of the church for their respective functions; and it is little likely

* See our eighth volume, p. 134.

that they would appoint a layman of a different communion to preside over their bishops and presbyters. But we need not reason in this manner. We have the authority of one of their own clergy to affirm, that Count Zinzendorff, after endeavouring in vain to bring over the brethren at Hernheet to the Lutheran faith and discipline, became himself a convert to their faith and discipline, and, in 1735, was consecrated one of their bishops; having, the year before, been examined, and admitted into the inferior orders by the theological faculty at Tubingen. Archbishop Potter, we are assured, congratulated him on the event, and promised what assistance he could give to a church of confessors, of whom he wrote in terms of the highest respect, for their having maintained the pure and primitive faith and discipline, in the midst of the most tedious and cruel persecutions.

We have reason to believe, from the detail given us by the same candid Moravian, that the charge of impurity brought against the count by the translator of Mosheim's history, and the Bishops Warburton and Lavington, is not so *totally* groundless as our author wishes to persuade his readers. The count, indeed, was innocent; but it is admitted by our correspondent, that some of the converts to the faith and discipline of the *unitas fratrum*, having previously imbibed extravagant notions, propagated them with zeal among their new friends, in a phraseology extremely reprehensible; and that the count himself sometimes adopted the very improper language of those fanatics, when labouring to bring them from the extravagance of error to the soberness of truth. It is added, that much of the extravagance and error, which have been attributed to the count, is to be charged, not to *him*, but to *those persons* who, writing his *extempore* sermons in short-hand, printed and published them without his knowledge or consent.

This account of the matter is extremely probable; and while it may serve to vindicate these respectable characters

from one of the blackest calumnies that were ever circulated against men,* it shows that Count Zinzendorff and the brethren gave no countenance to those impurities, which, on plausible evidence, were said to disgrace their society. They have departed, however, far from the original purity of their principles, if they be amalgamated with that mass of mushrooms sprung from the hot-bed of fanaticism, and ycleped *the Missionary Society.*

The three apostles of methodism were Mr. John Wesley, Mr. George Whitfield, and "the noble and ELECT Lady Huntingdon." We have a full account of the birth, life, and transactions of each of these servants of the Lord, and revivers of true godliness; and it may seem rather singular, that, though Wesley was as zealous an opponent of Calvinism as any of those dignitaries of the church, whom our author calls Semi-pelagians, he is yet admitted to have been "an eminently favoured saint of God." But he had the merit of exciting a schism in the established church, which, like charity, covereth a multitude of sins.

Whitfield had all Wesley's zeal, with the additional merit of Calvinistic orthoxy, and *little learning!* Hence it is, that "no *man*, since the days of St. Paul, not even Luther himself, was ever personally blest to the call and conversion of so many souls from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God, as George Whitfield. He

* "I am informed," says our candid author, "that the impure and malignant note inserted by the translator of Mosheim, against *the brethren*, in his ecclesiastical history, he would, from *conviction of its injustice*, have expunged: but the copy being shown to the author of *the divine Legation of Moses*, the bishop engaged him to let it stand, and there it remains a monument of the bitterness, bigotry, and falsehood of these accusers of the brethren." It would have been singularly obliging in our *impartial historian*, to have said *from whom* he received this curious piece of information! The bishop of Gloucester and Dr. Maclaine were no fools. They could not but be sensible that, if real, this was a most nefarious transaction; and it is not probable that they would first *commit a crime*, and then *publish* that crime to *defeat* its *object*, and *disgrace themselves!*

crossed the Atlantic thirteen times, to preach the everlasting gospel, *with the power of the Holy Ghost sent down from Heaven!*"

But though no *man*, since the days of *St. Paul*, has been so personally blest as *St. George Whitfield*, yet the *elect lady* seems to have been still more blest; for she founded colleges, endowed innumerable chapels, and *patronized Dr. Haweis!* There are several curious particulars in our author's account of this lady, which we regret that our limits permit us not to transcribe; but we cannot omit the following, as it shows the *real* object of some of the Methodists in "creeping into houses, and leading captive silly women, led away by divers lusts," whilst it verifies an observation of the pious Nelson, that "love between the sexes, though it may begin in the spirit, generally ends in the flesh."

Lady Huntingdon, though exemplary in her conduct from a child, wished, till some time after her marriage, to establish her own righteousness, and "by prayer, fasting, and alms-deeds, to commend herself to the favour of the Most High and Most Holy! The zealous preachers, who had been branded with the name of Methodists, had now awakened great attention in the land. Lady Margaret Hastings happening to hear them, received the truth as it is in Jesus from their ministry; and was, some years after, *united in marriage with the excellent Mr. Ingham*, one of the first labourers in this plenteous harvest! Conversing with Lady Margaret one day on *this subject*, Lady Huntingdon was exceedingly struck with a sentiment she uttered, *that since she had known and believed in the Lord Jesus Christ for life and salvation, she had been as happy as an angel!* To any such *sensation* of happiness, Lady Huntingdon felt that she was *yet* a stranger!" She obtained that happiness, however, from her connection with Mr. Whitfield, and *prophesied* to Bishop Benson, that, on his death-bed, "the ordination of George Whitfield would be one of the few ordinations on which he would reflect with

complacence."—"It is worthy of remark," adds the author, "that Bishop Benson, on his dying bed, sent *ten guineas* to Mr. Whitfield, as a token of his favour and approbation, and begged to be remembered by him in his prayers!"

Yet this prophetess, this genuine Calvinist, this *elect lady*, is represented by her panegyrist, as having her heart swollen with spiritual pride, as "thinking of herself much more highly than she ought to have thought, and not soberly, according as God had dealt to her and her friends the measure of faith."* "The success attending her efforts seemed to impress her mind with a persuasion, that a particular benediction would rest upon whomsoever *she should send forth*;† and rendered her choice not always judicious! She had so long *directed the procedures of her connection*, that she too seldom asked the advice of the judicious ministers who laboured with her; and bore *not passively contradiction*." This, we suppose, is related to prove the truth of Luther's opinion, that Calvinism tends to *humble* the human heart; and many such proofs the reader will find in our author's account of himself, and his brethren of the *connection!*

Thus, "Whitfield too frequently indulged in censures of the clergy, which, however just they might be, seemed the effect of resentment!"—"He, and Wesley, and all of them, were always at their work, preaching wherever they could procure admittance into the churches; and *not a little flattered by the popularity attending their ministrations!* They must have been more than men (they were the *elect*) if they had not been so." "The Methodists" (remember, reader, he is a Methodist who is speaking) "live in a state of *greater piety* and *separation from the world* than the generality of their brethren. They join in none of the fashion-

* Rom. xii. 3.

† We now see the propriety of our author's phrase, "Episcopal *men*," which appeared to us so strange when we first met with it.

able amusements of the age, frequent not the theatres, or scenes of dissipation, court no favour of the great, or human respects; their *time* and *services* are *better employed* in the more important labours of the ministry, preaching the word in season, out of season, and *counting their work their best wages!*"

We have some reason to believe that all Calvinistic Methodists have not been so disinterested. One of them, said to be of the elect lady's *connection*, agreed to hold a rich rectory for a minor, but refused to resign it when the minor became of age, because he had *discovered* that the transaction was simoniacal and illegal. Simoniacal and illegal it certainly was; but had the rector possessed the spirit of our author, he would have contrived to fulfil his engagement, while he prevented the simony. He would have paid the tithes to the man in whose favour he had promised to resign the living; but, "counting his work his best wages," he would have continued his pastoral relation to the parish for the sake of the souls entrusted to his care. Such, we cannot doubt, would have been the conduct of Dr. Haweis, if he had been so unfortunate as to enter into a simoniacal contract for the living of All-Saints, Aldwinckle!

Through the last volume of this work, the author embraces every opportunity of expatiating on the Christian zeal of *the London Missionary Society*, and pronounces that society to be "certainly of God." We cannot help being of a different opinion. The Doctor and his associates may each be actuated by a disinterested desire to carry the light of the glorious gospel into the regions of the shadow of death; but it would not be easy to persuade us that God is the *author of confusion*, or that the doctrines of Christianity will be successfully preached among the heathen by men, not only running unsent, but differing so widely in opinion as Calvinists and Arminians, Episcopalians and Presbyterians, Pædo-baptists and Anti-pædo-baptists!

In vain may the society direct its Missionaries to abstain

from controversy, and preach nothing to the heathen but the essential doctrines and duties of the gospel. The Missionaries are not agreed among themselves what doctrines and duties are essential. One thinks the distinguishing tenets of Calvinism the most essential parts of gospel truth; another discovers in those tenets, a series of the most shocking blasphemies; whilst a third, admitting their truth, sees no propriety of inculcating them on the minds of the people. One Missionary discovers in the New-Testament, that the infant children of believing parents should be admitted into the church by the sacrament of baptism; whilst another is persuaded, that no person is a subject of Christian baptism, who does not actually believe the gospel. The independent, considering the rights of Christians as common, feels himself bound to "stand fast in the liberty with which Christ hath made him free;" but the Episcopalian and Presbyterian believe that a ministry, with the *power of the keys*, or the exclusive right of administering the sacraments, is the ordinance of Christ, to which the multitude of believers are bound to pay obedience; whilst they differ exceedingly as to the constitution of the church, and the channel through which the power of the keys must be derived. Among such heterogeneous missionaries, preaching the gospel to the same people, controversies seem to be inevitable; and their labours, instead of enlightening the heathen, will only increase their prejudices against the faith, whenever it shall be carried to them in a more regular manner.

In a word, the Missionary Society, like this history of the church, can do no good, and may be productive of much evil. With this conviction on our minds, we dare not recommend either the one or the other to the public favour; but we readily admit, that to preach the gospel among the heathen is the duty of the church, and that an ecclesiastical history, *really* impartial and authenticated by proper references to original authorities, is a desideratum in English literature.

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